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CAPTAIN ROCK

DETECTED:

OR,

THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE RECENT DISTURBANCES,

AND

THE CAUSES, BOTH MORAL AND POLITICAL, OF THE PRESENT ALARMING CONDITION

OF THE

SOUTH AND WEST OF IRELAND,

FULLY AND FAIRLY

CONSIDERED AND EXPOSED:

BY

A MUNSTER FARMER.

London:

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INTRODUCTION.

IT is my purpose to lay before the English people, a statement of the grievances under which my unfortunate country is laboring; and to remove, as far as lies in my power, the erroneous notions respecting the causes of our distresses, which interested and violent men have long been endeavouring to propagate. I cannot give my statement to the world, sanctioned by the authority of a great name; neither is it my ambition that it should be adorned with the graces of wit or eloquence. I have one plain object, to make a true statement—a statement, for the truth of every item of which, I can vouch; and in which, if there be found a single false-

hood, calculated to cause an unfair impression, I will avow myself, and, in my own proper name, bear the shame of it. Truth then, and truth alone, I promise, and I have a feeling of confidence that it shall prevail. I owe it, however, to my readers, to give some account of myself, that it may be seen what the qualifications are which I possess for the execution of my purpose, and what the means of acquiring knowledge which are within my power.

I belong to a family, in which the Protestant and Roman Catholic interests are so equably combined, that my poor neighbours say, "it would be as natural for me to go to "church as to mass." I have relatives, members of "the order of the blessed Virgin;" and relatives, who, some years since, would have thought it of dangerous consequence, that the twelfth of July should pass over without an Orange procession. It might be expected, that the contending principles, which thus respectively influenced these good people, should, in me, have neutralized each other, and that I should have grown up without prejudice against either party; but

I believe Irishmen will always join some side; and I remember well, that if rebellion were a commodity in request when I was fourteen years of age, I had a large share to throw into the common stock. Since that time, I have lived principally among strangers; my reading has extended beyond the chronicles of ancient Ireland and the recitals of English severity; a liberal intercourse with various classes in society has had its proper effect; and when, some years back, I came to take possession of my little patrimony, I returned to my paternal mansion, almost completely cured of all those prejudices with which I had formerly left it.

I am, therefore, to be regarded by the reader, as a person possessing the knowledge of a native, without the passions and prejudices which render such knowledge unserviceable. I live in the greatest amity with my poor neighbours; my tenants are few, but they are prosperous, and look on me, I believe, as a good landlord. I frequently discourse with them on the state of the country; and as I am not a magistrate, and as they are

confident that I will not betray a trust reposed in me, I have received information by which mischief has been sometimes prevented, and by which I have acquired so much knowledge, as to think that I may serve the country by communicating it. Here are, then, my qualifications for the task I have undertaken. I reside constantly in a disturbed district. I belong to no party. I am able to maintain, and do maintain, a kindly intercourse with my neighbours of all classes and denominations; and with such facilities for acquiring knowledge, and after long study and consideration, I offer myself, as the representative of that class of persons whose sentiments have not yet been heard, *the Farmers of the South of Ireland.*

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF THE SOUTH.

SOME of the newspapers have undertaken to intimate, that the south of Ireland is returning to tranquillity, and have even quoted the expressions of barristers presiding at sessions under the Insurrection Act, as authorities decisive on this point. There is certainly, at present, something like a pause, from the horrors to which we were accustomed, and sanguine men consider it as a harbinger of peace. It is not to be understood by this, that atrocities are no longer perpetrated in consequence of illegal combinations; murders and burnings are still frequent amongst us; but we do not now expect, as we did some time since, that the first tidings of the morning should be, reports of the depredations committed in the past night.

Our houses have less the appearance of garrisons; a stranger is not viewed with so much suspicion while we are unbolting our strong doors to admit him, and at his entrance, he does not find men at arms standing in our halls, to maintain the pass against all invaders. We are still cautious, but our caution does not wear so formidable an appearance.

Various causes have been assigned for the breathing time that has been granted to us. Some say, that the disturbers have themselves been harassed into a distaste for their lawless life, and are really desirous of resting in security. Others aver, that they are overawed by the force of military and police kept up in the country, and that they are ready to start into activity again, the moment that the pressure is removed. For my part (and I am not singular in my opinion) I look upon the uneasy quiet which the country has obtained, to be owing, less to the fears or weariness of the disturbers, *than to their success*. They have accomplished the objects for which they first exerted themselves; and it is not

yet the time to take other business in hand.

In the late disturbances there was, at first, nothing of a political character. It was the effort of poverty against oppression, or at least against fancied oppression. Farmers groaning under the heavy pressure of rents and tithes (which, notwithstanding the low price of agricultural produce, were kept up to the war standard) and compelled, in consequence, to dismiss their labourers, and with their own hands to cultivate the soil; a multitude of persons thus deprived of employment, and exposed to the utmost want; no army to take off any portion of these wretched men, but, on the contrary, their number increased by the disbanding of several regiments; and at the same time, a general stagnation of enterprize through the country, by which every prospect of relief seemed closed against the poor; this was the state of things, at the time when the combinations began to form, to which the late disturbances were owing. "Surely," said a poor fellow, whom I saved from trans-

portation, " surely, sir, I'd never join with " them, only that the world was shut on me, " and it was no matter where I'd go."

At first, the disorders appear to have been committed by the very lowest classes exclusively. The farmers, of course, did not discourage combinations, by which they hoped to be sheltered against the landlords demands, and soon began to contribute to the support of the disturbers, out of that fund from which the landlord in vain expected his rent. I am not to be understood here, as speaking of the more respectable members of this body, such as in Ireland are called " gentlemen farmers." These were still paying enormous rents, not from the issues of the ground, but from their own capital; and were negociating with the landlords, for abatements in their rents. But the inferior farmers, hopeless of procuring any abatement, and rendered still more desperate by the arrears which were accumulating over them, yielded themselves, with increasing cordiality, to the views of the disturbers. One circumstance will be sufficient to mark

the difference between an Irish tenantry and an English. In the Report of the Agricultural Committee for 1821, the following passage occurs:—" This pressure upon the " farmer is stated by some of the witnesses " to have materially affected the retail bu- " siness of shopkeepers, in country towns " connected with the agricultural districts." In Ireland, in the same time of distress, the effect was to *increase* very considerably such retail business. This difference is to be accounted for only, by supposing that the English tenantry were more honest, or else, that they felt it their interest to conduct themselves honestly; perhaps both these reasons may have concurred. The Irish tenant, who had little prospect of any remote advantage, whose rent was such, as that it made the demand for arrears which had accumulated seem little more effective for the landlord than his own claim to the forfeited lands, saw no necessity for any present self denial, and encouraged by the disturbances, and at perfect ease in his conscience, regaled himself with his landlord's property. But the English

tenant knew that he would have the benefit of his honest self denial, and he accordingly practised it.

While the illegal combinations were forming, the gentry had frequent intimations of the disorderly spirit that was breaking out, and occasionally transmitted information to the government, but, I believe, their representations were little attended to. I suppose that the character of the country gentlemen had lost much of its respectability, and that any information from them was regarded as coming from an interested quarter. Whether this be so, I cannot say; but I know, that the gentry used to complain passionately of having their representations neglected upon subjects of such importance to the peace of the country. It soon, however, became difficult to procure information. As the combination extended itself the peasantry became overawed, and gradually, having little protection from the law, they were absorbed into a system, which, I believe, is now almost coextensive with the population. I will relate the circumstance that first made me awaken to a sense of the danger with which the

country was threatened. It has been long a practice of mine to read for some time after my servants are in bed; and I have sometimes remained looking out upon the country, when there was light enough, to shew me whether all was quiet. I was so engaged in the winter of 1822, when I heard the sound of a party marching in regular time, on the road which passes my house, at the distance of about a hundred yards. I could not yet say, whether it might not be a body of military, for it was screened from my view by a very thick hedge row. However, to be prepared for the worst, I called my servants, and opened the windows of the first floor, at which we stationed ourselves; and as the house was in shade, and the moon light very bright on the road, we were able to watch the party, whatever it might be, ourselves unobserved. We soon saw it emerge from the trees, and march on quietly before the house. As well as I could judge from the space occupied, and the length of time the party was passing from the trees, it consisted of about three hundred persons. They passed

on in the same regular array, and when they had ascended a hill in sight of my house, and where some of my tenants lived, I saw them stop at every door, and hold a short parley with the inmates of the house. As I had frequently held the freest discourse with these tenants, warning them against the disturbers, and hearing from them accounts of the various disorderly meetings, I took it for granted, that I should on the next morning have a full report of the night's proceedings. But, to my utter astonishment, I could not learn a single particular—" They were all " asleep; there was no disturbance abroad, " &c. &c." One old woman assured me, " that there was so little noise, that you could " hear the grass growing if it was summer; " and she knew it, for she had been up all " night with a sick child." From this night, for a time, all freedom of intercourse with my tenantry was at an end; but it returned when a military detachment and a few police were stationed in the neighbourhood; and then I learned, that on the night to which I alluded, all my tenantry were sworn " to

"be secret and ready;" and that they were so much afraid of the disturbers, and so sure of their having "every thing their own way "soon," that they did not dare to tell me.

With the younger part of my tenantry, I feel as if I had lost all influence; they will not converse with me as they used. They listen to me when I speak on the dangers of unlawful meetings, but invariably turn to their work without a reply. The poor fathers of some of them, who remember the horrors of former years, sometimes speak of their children in a tone of sorrow. "I tell you," said a poor old man, "there's something "that's not right among them boys; they "are grown so dark, and getting together in "holes and corners; and when I speak to "them about the ould times, and the bloody "year ninety-eight, and the hard summer "that came after, to frighten 'em, 'tis that "that only sets 'em wild entirely." The poor old man did not know, that, in memory, hatred and revenge are only one remove from horror.

I have suffered myself to be diverted too far from my proper business. When a man is writing amidst scenes that affect his mind powerfully, it is hard to prevent his composition from being influenced by them; but I know that this is not a sufficient excuse to the reader, and I will therefore endeavour to avoid such offence for the future. I perceive through the entire peasantry, particularly in the younger men, the settled traces of a discontented spirit. I find that the principal proprietors of the soil are absentees, and that the impoverished gentry who remain, are dissatisfied with the government, disunited among themselves, and destitute of influence with the people. Under such circumstances, what prevents an open rebellion? Some say, that the disturbers are wearied out; some, that they are kept down by fear. I assert, *that the time for their general rising has not come, and that the experience of past attempts has made them cautious.* They have succeeded in consolidating the entire of the south in one general associa-

tion; they have succeeded in furnishing themselves with arms to a surprising extent; they have established the important principle, that no man shall become successor to a tenant who has been compelled by law to relinquish his lands; and having been so successful, they can afford themselves a little indulgence.

This indulgence is not likely to render them voluptuous. Ireland is not a Capua. Like Achilles in his retirement, the disturbers find their best solace in songs of the acts of heroes. As if there had been a kind of truce tacitly established, a considerable degree of intimacy has taken place between the people and the soldiers. These men, broken up into small detachments, and divested of all the pomp and circumstance of war, are scattered over the country. Military men must be best judges whether the esprit de corps is likely to subsist, when the splendour of the corps has been withdrawn. History informs us, that the first English settlers were so attracted by the sociability and blandishments of the natives,

as, in many instances, to renounce their own habits and prejudices, and to blend themselves with the Irish people. I do not know how far the case of these settlers may be applicable to the military of modern times, but I should be greatly astonished to hear, that the Irish, in the days of Henry II, excelled their descendants of the present day, in any of the qualities which render a companion agreeable; and I own that I cannot, without some alarm, behold the kind of intimacy which unavoidably takes place, between the designing peasants who hover about every military outpost, and the unsuspecting soldiers whom they study to entertain and oblige.

Whatever the cause may be, the fact is certain, that the *discipline* of the peasantry, in their night adventures, is very considerably improved. Formerly they gave signals by sound of horn; then by discharge of muskets; then, in the neighbourhood of every military station, there was a spy, who, as soon as the military were set in motion to patrol at night, threw up a rocket, which was

a signal to all camps in all directions, and which made the videttes from every party alert, to give notice, by a whistle, of the road which the military were taking*. Now, they leave to the king's soldiers the king's highway; and the instances are not rare, in which they have been known to be quietly behind a hedge, at the other side of which a troop of dragoons was patroling, and (as soon as the patrol had passed out of sight) to proceed in the act of vengeance which they had come out to perpetrate, and to leave it to the military on their return, to extricate, if not too late, a wretched family from its burning cabin, or report, if all was over, the new and daring atrocity. By such acts they keep up the spirits of their party and the terror of their power. If the punishment which they inflict was as tardy or as light as that of the law, it would soon be as little dreaded; but Captain Rock seems to have studied legislation in the code of Draco, and death, instant and inevitable, is the punishment of every transgression.

* This kind of discipline was considerably improved during the years of illicit distillation.

There are two offences in particular, to which pardon is never extended, and, in making these capital, sound policy appears to have been consulted. One is, the crime of prosecuting or informing against any disturber; and the other is, that of possessing lands from which the preceding tenant was ejected. By inflicting punishment on one of these classes of offenders, the prejudices of the people against informers are flattered, and the fears of any who might possibly be wavering, are enlisted in General Rock's service. By punishing the land-takers, he shews himself the protector of the poor against all their oppressors; and as there is at present no great object in hand, the General is fixing himself in the hearts and fears of the people, by the terrors of his vengeance against offenders, and his readiness to succour the distressed.

His executions too are not without the proper formalities; I remember a case in which a poor woman was giving information to her landlord and another magistrate, by which a murderer might be detected, and, in the course of her statements, she said

that the murder had been directed and overlooked by a "*staff-man.*" She was asked what she meant by a staff-man, for it seemed to be a word which she had framed—"did "it mean a man who carried a staff or "cudgel?" No, it meant "*a man that attends a General*;" and, according to her account, *such a man had been sent from a distance of twenty miles to see the murder perpetrated.*

Such is the state of the south of Ireland at this moment. A conspiracy spread over the face of the whole country; discipline strictly maintained, and very much improved among the conspirators; and the punishment of any violation of their laws, fatal and inevitable. A circumstance that should very much add to the alarm which the consideration of such a state of things is fitted to excite, is the paucity of convictions at the late assizes. Some hasty thinkers consider this a favourable symptom, *because they do not compare the calendar of crimes with the number of convictions.* If they did, they could not draw such an erroneous conclusion; for they would

learn, that, while crime was extremely prevalent, yet, so completely had the terror of the disturbers overcome the sense of justice and the love of gain, the instances were still few in which the offenders could be traced out.

It was observed, that the disturbances in the south had commenced altogether in the wretchedness of the people, and were at first perfectly free from all tinge of politics or religion. The disturbances, however, were of too long continuance to remain free from such a taint. In all cases, it adds dignity to the character of any tumults, to invest them with the majesty of a religious or a political purpose. It gains more credit to the asseveration, that great men (as was frequently said to be the case in Ireland) were secretly connected in the design, and it opens a more extensive prospect for all those enterprising and discontented persons who would think the mere regulation of rents and tithes unworthy of attention, *as an end,* although, perhaps, proper to be attended to, as means of forwarding a more noble purpose.

But in Ireland no refinements were necessary to make religious hatred insinuate itself into the insurgent's counsels; and the trials, where it was fully proved, that in the same circumstances, the Roman Catholics had been spared and the Protestants murdered, and the burning of various churches, (which Captain Rock could not excuse, as the Earl of Kildare justified himself, because "he "thought that the bishop was there,") gave full and convincing proof, how very early a spirit of religious intolerance had given a new stimulus to the disorders which poverty had occasioned. Together with this new spirit, there arose an ambition of a more elevated nature. At first, they wished for no more than the humble enjoyments of a laborious tenantry. They had now got arms in their hands, and, (like their predecessors in the time of James II.) hoped, by means of them, soon to have lands *. They had been, to

* The reader will perhaps remember the answer of the approver at Limerick assizes—he would murder any breathing thing, but he would not rob, except for arms, for with them he hoped to win land.

a certain degree, successful; and as they looked round on their increasing numbers, and saw the terror of their proceedings spreading very widely, and beheld, as they sometimes must have beheld, the excessive alarm into which even the gentry had been cast; they naturally, (inflamed by various incidental causes which we shall have occasion to mention in the course of this tract) formed more daring projects than they had thought of at first, and looked upon the whole country as theirs in expectation.

The readiness with which religious animosity mixes itself in all the disturbances by which the south of Ireland is afflicted, arises, in part, from the extreme ignorance of the poor with respect to the nature of the Protestant religion. The spirit of religious rancour is violent in most cases; but, in Ireland, it is rendered still more fierce from the manner in which Protestants are regarded,—as, at once, enemies and infidels. The lower orders of the Irish people are so persuaded that Protestants cannot be saved, as sometimes to imagine that the date of their final destiny

is anticipated, and that they are, at present, even in this world, servants of the devil. You could scarcely persuade them that Protestants really believe in a religion; and the maxim of the philosophical pauper, "What "signifies talking about religion,—don't the "Quakers live as well as any of us," indicates an opinion universally held, though less sturdily maintained against the Church of England than against the sectaries. I remember a poor man's gradation of merit to be, "that a bad Catholic would be a good "Protestant, and a bad Protestant would be "a good Presbyterian." I cannot imagine any thing more likely to serve the cause of the Protestant church in Ireland, than to have it made known among the people, that Protestants really believe in the truth of religion and practise its duties. But I shall revert to this topic hereafter.

I will conclude this sketch of the south, with an extract from an unpublished work, communicated to me by a friend, who, although a person of, in some measure, literary habits, is well acquainted with the real

state of the country. I avail myself of his permission to publish the extract, because it will give a livelier picture of the state of the south, and shew the effect of their religious sentiments upon the people, with as much fidelity as could be accomplished by a drier detail. It is an account of some scenes of which a young gentleman of college was a witness, and of some transactions in which he was engaged during a short residence in the country, at a very disturbed period. I commence my extract with a letter which he addressed to a college friend, after having been in the country for a few days. It is, perhaps, not quite visibly suited to my subject, but yet it will be found strongly descriptive of the state of the country. The chapter in which it occurs, is called "The Ruin," and the incident, one which took place at that identical ruin, where the missionary biographer of Captain Rock was so perilously encountered.

CHAPTER II.

THE RUIN:

A FRAGMENT.

" My dear Lorton,

YOU were quite right in imagining that the country would have an effect upon me much greater than I could have anticipated. Living as I had lived all my life within a town, I could not imagine any thing like an actual residence in the country. I said to you that no scenery could be finer than I had frequently dreamed of, and no sounds more romantic than I had heard, and I accordingly predicted, that I should find nothing to counterbalance the listlessness of the society to which I must be condemned in the seclusion of the country. I considered myself going completely into Aphelion, and calculated that no mangement of my resources could keep a flame alive in my mind during the long period of my banishment; but I miscalculated. My imaginations were

not in the least of the same nature with reality. It is not that I did not think of trees, and waters, and green hills, and ruins, and dark mountains—yes, I did,—and of sunset, and morning, and of the wind in the long grass, and as it waved the leafy branches; but I find now that my imaginations were dim and lifeless, and that although we may summon around us all the images belonging to some beautiful scene, we cannot infuse into them that living spirit, by which nature herself has a power to awaken our feelings almost to extacy. Surely it is not mere beauty which can captivate me. What do I know about perspective, and light and shade, and warm colouring, and grand or picturesque or graceful forms. Nothing in the world, and yet I feel that nature exerts over me a mysterious and magical influence, not the less powerful because it is undefinable. Nor do I require splendid scenery to be made sensible of this influence. I stand out in the evening air, as the sun is setting, and although there are sometimes but few objects around me,

perhaps nothing to be remarked, except a hedge row, where I see some of the trees, with their look of quiet and resignation, permitting the dimness of evening to settle upon them, and others, upon whose highest branches, the melancholy smile of departing sun-light is just fading away; yet I feel myself interested by such insignificant objects, more than by the most luxuriant description of prose or poetry. This, surely, is the direct operation of nature herself. She will not impart her secret. You may judge well of the effect which the country has upon me, when I tell you that, instead of wishing to be with you at any of our town haunts, I find myself regretting your absence from the country, and wishing that I could exert a magician's power, and transport some of the friends I love into this region of enchantment. There is a circumstance too which I ought not to forget in writing to you—the pleasures you might have here, if they are not sweetened by toil, are, at least, dignified by danger. The country, you are aware, has been and is in a state of great disturbance, and you

cannot rove in any of those devious ways which lead to the most picturesque or beautiful seclusions, without undergoing a risque of encountering some of the armed hordes by which the country is infested. I mean, of course, if your rambles were to be in the night season. This, I know, would enhance your enjoyments; the moonlight would have tenfold charms for you, if you expected, that, at every instant, its rays should flash back from pike and musket, and you would listen to the solemn strain, or the cautious whisper in which the spirit of the wood addresses you, if you imagined that, at the next moment, a bugle sound should swell upon your ear, or a shrill whistle should pierce the recesses of the grove, and *the silent rush, or the savage yell of armed bandits,* mustering at the place of meeting, or darting upon their prey, should scare the peacefulness of the quiet moonshine. These are things which would greatly heighten your enjoyments; but, for my part, I could gladly dispense with them, and candidly acknowledge that, at my first entrance upon some of the

wild and beautiful scenes with which this country abounds, I felt a certain kind of chill, not at all unlike the instinct upon which Falstaff ran away—such as I was obliged to overcome before I could resign myself to the influence of the objects around me. Mr. G—— encourages me to dismiss all apprehension; he says that every member of his family is respected, and, to convince me of his reliance upon the good will of the people, he said, that for forty years he has never used bolt or bar in his house—he admitted, however, upon my suggestion, that I might be shot in mistake—"Oh yes," said he, "in mistake I grant, and you cer-" tainly *do* resemble a magistrate who is " very much disliked—but, otherwise, you " are in no danger, and as soon as they " know you well; I will ensure your safety." In the mean time, my consolation is, that in my own proper person I shall experience no disaster. Some old philosopher, I don't know his name, used to say, that if a man reviled you unjustly, you should not be offended because you were not the person

he meant. So if the perpetrators of lawless justice shall decide upon my execution, I am not to regard it, because it was not me they meant, and the verdict of the jury must be—shot by mistake. Did you ever hear of the answer ——— made when asked his age? —I am twenty-eight years old, but I ought to be twenty-nine, for my mother miscarried the year before I was born;—so they may say of me, died at nineteen, but he ought to be reckoned older, for although the bullet killed *him*, it was intended for *another*. However, I have now worn away all my apprehensions, and do not expect to be shot either by design or mistake. I had intended to give you a sketch of the group which our family here makes up, but I think I have written enough, and if you are (as I firmly believe you to be) as fatigued as I am, you think so too, so I shall betake myself to my repose, and leave you to your occupations. Yours,

Edw^d Ormsby.

It was not strange that so young a man, now, for the first time of his life, domesti-

cated I may say with nature, should feel its influence strongly, and with all the enthusiasm of a first passion, and that his days should be occupied, as they were, in excursions through a very beautiful and romantic country. One of his most favourite haunts was an old ruin, which covered a large piece of ground in a sequestered valley, not above two miles from Mr. G——'s house, and on the banks of a fine river. It had been an abbey of high reputation in early times, but so completely has the memory of those places passed away, that although in good preservation, and containing specimens of beautiful architecture, it was now quite unregarded, and not even mentioned to strangers by the people in its vicinity. It was in one of his aimless and undirected rambles, that Ormsby discovered it, and he thought himself almost literally in a region of enchantment when, after wandering through the beautiful winding valley in which it lay, on the banks of a broad river shining in the noon-day sun, on turning round a hill of gentle ascent, he emerged from the grove

which had sheltered him, and stood suddenly before its principal archway. A few rooks, whom his appearance disturbed, uttered their hoarse discordant note, but every thing else was perfectly still and solitary; and as he stepped over fallen pillars within the arched entrance, and felt the chill fall upon him, which is always experienced within the walls of these extensive ruins, he paused and listened, in the strong expectation that he was about to be engaged in some adventure similar to those of the old time. This thought was, of course, but of momentary duration, and smiling at the fancy which had crossed his mind, he advanced, and proceeded to explore the ruins. There was a stone staircase in one of the towers, by which he ascended to a passage through the walls, and came into a turret, from which he commanded a beautiful view of the winding river; and, at the opposite extremity of the passage, he looked out upon the mountains, closing as a kind of amphitheatre upon the valley, and shutting out all the rest of the world from this calm seclusion. This be-

came his favourite haunt; its loneliness, and the melancholy interest which we take in such scenes, heightening considerably the charm of the place. The loneliness was so remarkable, that, one evening, he felt almost startled at seeing a peasant lying asleep in the archway, and was, for the moment, tempted to awake him, and inquire why he was there. Better satisfied, however, to remain alone than to have his reflections broken in upon, he passed him, and having ascended to his favourite turret, looked out upon the rich evening scene before him." After a description of the scene, and its effect on Ormsby, who remained gazing until the night had advanced, the narrative proceeds:—" Ormsby turned to depart, but suddenly halted; for, almost directly under the tower where he stood, he heard a hoarse voice singing a wild and impassioned air, of which he had sometimes before heard snatches from the labourers, as they returned at evening from the field. Cautiously drawing himself back from the small window of the tower, he looked out, and, although the moon was still behind the cloud, yet there

was light enough to enable him to discern two figures moving round the outer walls of the ruin, and, as well as he could judge, both armed. The song was continued, and the words so distinctly, although coarsely, pronounced (each syllable occupying but a single note in the music), that Ormsby could hear, and succeeded in keeping almost accurately in his memory, the entire song:—

Is your hand on your blade, cries the angry Star of the night,
Is your heart in the cause where the hearts of the brave unite?
But the slave said no! for my masters hands are strong,
And the pride of my heart is low, and my strength is gone.

Are your masters strong when their cheeks grow pale with dread,
At the distant sound of my champions hurrying tread?
Are they strong—when the shrieks of my perishing victims rise,
And my banners of flame stream forth on the midnight skies.

Are your masters strong—when from ghastly visions they start,
And a nearer shout sends despair to their sinking heart?
Are they strong in their need—when the cloven gateway falls,
And the conqueror's steps rush fierce—through their coward halls.

The singer was proceeding in the song, and had commenced another stanza—

They are strong while their chains,—

but ceased abruptly as a shrill whistle rung out from the archway. The two men halted. Seemingly from the same direction as before a whistle was repeated twice, and then Ormsby heard some words which he could not distinguish, from the men he had been observing. They then passed on, and turned round towards the principal entrance through which he must pass in attempting to make his escape. What was he to do? There were evidently at least three men, for the one to whose signal they had attended, must be of their party. There were perhaps many more. He now remembered various noises which had, in the course of the evening, disturbed his reveries. Then he had disregarded them, or thought them occasioned by the returning of the rooks to their nests. Now he imagined that they might have intimated the arrival of some fierce plunderer at the place of meeting. Now also he remembered the

sleeper whom he had seen in the evening, and who was, it might be, a centinel to keep the place clear; and he prayed that his sleep was not feigned. The place where he stood could not afford him a view of the inside of the ruin; but near him there was a breach in the inner wall, over which, too, some ivy was partially hanging; and here he thought he could (himself unseen) behold the interior.

He was disappointed; for although the aperture commanded the place he wished to see, yet the darkness was so great, that he could not distinguish any object whatever. He, however, remained at his post, silent and watchful, listening for any sound; but he heard nothing except a slight rustle below him, which might indicate the restless movements of a number of persons in a constrained silence, or might be nothing more than the effect of a rising breeze, which was rustling in the long grass. Conjecture was soon at an end; the moon which had, behind the cloud, ascended to a height whence it could overlook the ruin, now

emerged, and shone with full lustre above the roofless walls, pouring a flood of light into the central hall, and disclosing to Ormsby a scene which might fill a stout heart with astonishment, at least.

The last instant he was alone, surrounded by night and thick darkness; and now the darkness is rolled away, and he is looking upon the faces of a multitude of armed men, thronging the silent hall before him; he is so near as to be almost in their presence, and feels, that, if they seek him, escape is impossible. It was certainly a moment full of alarm. They were scattered among the huge fragments, in various attitudes, and variously armed; some had pikes on which they leaned, and pistols stuck in rude belts which were fastened around them; some were reclined with their faces turned up towards the moon, and looking so ghastly in the pale light, that, but for their opened eyes, they might appear to be corpses. There were two or three kneeling before a recess where an altar had stood, and some were standing near the archway, with muskets

shouldered, and more regularly accoutred than their fellows. Their dress was also various; some wore coats with green on the collars and the wrists; some wore the loose great coat, to which the Irish poor are accustomed; some had procured military caps; some were with bare heads or with broken hats, through which their wild hair had thrust itself; but all were perfectly silent, and almost motionless; and there was something unusually dreadful in the circumstance, that every one of these grim, savage looking beings who had assembled together for some common purpose, remained occupied by his own sensations, and did not relax the stern ferocity of his countenance or his purpose, by even a whispered communication with his fellows. They remained, each one confined to himself alone, and seemed less disposed to interchange of thought or sentiment, than a horde of wolves who have made their league of blood, but can hold no converse together.

As he looked with wonder and alarm on this agitating scene, he heard again the

whistle. It now, from the ringing sound, appeared to proceed from under the archway; again the words were repeated, and instantly the entire multitude sprang upon their feet and seized their arms. "The General," cried a voice from the entrance, and the musketeers lowered their arms, and formed a kind of guard of honour to the person who entered, with whom they advanced farther into the hall, while all the wild multitude within arranged themselves into a semicircle before him. For a short time the silence continued; the general and his party stood at the centre of the circle; the surrounding multitude saluted by lowering of arms, but there was no noisy demonstration of attachment, not even the low murmur that might be supposed to creep along the lines. Various persons at intervals, in the lines, who were, each of them, distinguished by a cross belt and sword, beginning at the right and proceeding along to the other extremity, in their turns came forward, and retired after having conversed apart with the General, who paused after each

conference, as if he were comparing the accounts he received with the state of the party he was inspecting. After some time spent in this manner, the persons around him fell back; and he stood, full in Ormsby's view, though with his face partially averted. As he took off his hat his profile became visible, and his head and face seemed to denote him a person of higher consideration than might be supposed connected with such confederates. He was now about to speak, as the slight bustle among the troops seemed to promise, and Ormsby held his breath, least he should lose a word of the General's address. He found, however, that he could with ease hear every word, so articulate was the utterance of the speaker, and so hushed the attention of his hearers.

"Gentlemen," said he, "members of "the holy fraternity, it is now some years "since our order was instituted and our "plans of operation laid down. We had "hoped, before this day, to have driven into "the deep sea, or to have destroyed by fire, "famine and the sword, the merciless and

" blood-thirsty men under whose cruel op-
" pressions your country pines. We have
" not yet succeeded; many things have oc-
" curred to defeat our plans, and to give our
" enemies a short respite. Their hearts are
" still haughty and inhuman, and still you lie
" down in wretchedness and awaken to hard-
" ships; and you are slaves upon your own
" soil, and starving in the plentiful fields
" which are your natural right. But be not
" cast down, nor fear that vengeance will
" long delay. I pronounce to you, that be-
" fore one year has gone over your heads,
" your banners shall be flying in the open
" day, spread out upon the hills, and war,
" terrible war, shall be trampling down your
" enemies. Thus speaks your government;
" for myself, as your inspector, I have only
" to say, that I approve your conduct, and
" will report it to your advantage."

When he concluded, a murmur more like dissatisfaction than applause ran through the multitude. Ormsby could hear the words, " Again! — put off again! — " another year yet!" and various phrases

of this kind, indicating discontent and disappointment. After this had continued for some time, a stout looking young man, who wore the cross belt and a cocked hat, stepped out from the lines, and demanded of the General, on what day they were to take the field;—the reply Ormsby could not distinctly hear, but it seemed to be brief and authoritative. "Listen to the General!" cried the young man; "he will not tell when we are to "go out like men. We are to be wandering "about the country at night, and skulking "like robbers and murderers by day, and "never to know when we can fight for our "own, and have blood upon our hands that "we need not be ashamed of. To hell with "all such government! what is it doing "for us?" "Guards!" said the General, "seize that refractory man, and teach him "obedience."—But seeing that they were reluctant to execute their orders, and observing, from the gestures and murmurs of the multitude, that a similar spirit of discontent pervaded them all, he chose to make a merit of mildness, and retracted his

order, condescending even to reason with the young man who had provoked him. "Recollect," said he, "that you cannot "understand, as your governors can, all the "circumstances which induce them to hasten "or delay the commencement of open hos- "tilities. The British governors are still "powerful, but their influence is declining, "while your friends are every day increasing "in numbers and consequence. How un- "wise, therefore, must it be, where every "day we are increasing our strength, and "the enemy wasting away, if we were to "adopt any hasty measure, which might "change fatally the state of things!" "But," said the young man, interrupting him "this has been the language for these "three years back, and every year our con- "dition is growing worse; and hunger and "sickness will be worse to us, before the "end of this year, than any war." "Hun- "ger!" said the General, "have we not "allowed you free quarters? Have we not "given you free permission to plunder upon "every property in the country, except the

" few, which, for special purposes, we have
" exempted?" " Yes, but have you given
" directions to the owners of property to
" permit our plunder? Have you taken from
" them the means of defence? Or have you
" taken from the judges the gallows and the
" heavy lash?"

" Yes," said a pale wild looking old man who broke suddenly through the ranks; " Have you taken from the judges the gal-
" lows? Oh! what protectors ye are; what
" protectors ye were to my fine boys, when
" the red soldiers were drawn round them;
" and when the judge upon the throne passed
" their sentence, that they were to be hanged
" by the neck till they were dead!—dead!—
" Then I looked about for ye, and where
" were ye then? There were a thousand men
" in the court, and ye were not among them;
" and there were tens of thousands after-
" wards, and ye were not there to break
" through the guards and give me my fine
" boys again—and the sheriff had his men
" there, and King George had his men,
" horse and foot, and they guarding my

" two fine boys; and I looked for ye to
" the mountains and the fields, and where
" were ye then; where were ye when my
" brave sons had no friend to save them—
" oh! what protectors ye are. And now,
" when I lived on the hope of this hour, and
" thought to have revenge before I went
" away, you come to tell me that I must wait;
" Oh! may the curse—(and he fell upon his
" knees and spread out his arms)—Oh! may
" the curse of a heart-broken father, and
" the curse of my two murdered boys come
" down upon ye all, I pray God!—I pray
" that ye may be cursed as I was; that ye
" may see every thing ye loved cut down
" before ye, and that ye may go back to
" your lonesome houses, and remember as
" I did, the fine boys that used to meet you
" there before."—Here the old man sunk upon the earth; and there was a movement to assist him, but the General with an air of great dignity motioned the crowd back, and called upon his guards to raise the poor man, who, after some time, appeared to recover himself, and sat leaning against the

wall, sobbing and uttering complaints, but not loud enough for Ormsby to hear distinctly.

At last there was silence, and the General spoke again.—" I did not think," said he, " that you, my brave companions, would " reject so impatiently the orders of your " government. You have enlisted in the " noblest cause that ever bound men to- " gether; you knew, when you devoted " yourselves to it, that you did it not for the " pomp and show of war, but for your li- " berties and your country. You knew, that " you exposed yourselves to hardships and " dangers; but, because you loved the good " cause, you thought it little to suffer for it. " You have walked through peril and dif- " ficulty for the last five years. You have " taken bloody vengeance on many an op- " pressor. You have made many a haughty " glutton to tremble at his feast, although " he was sheltered from your weapons within " walls of stone and iron. Who is so great, " as that he can sleep in quiet, if he has " dared to provoke your wrath? Whom " have your laws condemned to death, and

" his days were not numbered? Why will
" you then show this impatient spirit?
" Shall your enemies outdo you in the for-
" titude with which they bear their evils?
" You complain of the dangers of the law,
" and the perils of your night adventures.
" Are these encountered by you alone?
" Have you not made your enemies equally
" to feel them? Is the punishment of their
" laws more deadly or more swift than your
" unsparing vengeance? Or do you walk in
" greater alarm than the tyrants who see an
" enemy in every Irishman they behold, and
" cannot tell whether every bush does not
" hide from their view, the messenger of
" their country's vengeance? Do not dis-
" grace yourselves, then, brave men, by any
" such impatience; remember, that your
" enemies suffer as well as you; that they,
" too, pant for the moment when they shall
" be released from their present misery, even
" by the chances of a battle; and commit
" yourselves, as at all times heretofore, to
" a government which loves you and watches
" for your interests. Do you think, that I

" do not, as well as you, burn for the mo-
" ment when we can throw off all hateful
" concealments, and make the bold shout of
" freedom ring from hill to hill, and rush
" with banners spread upon the ranks of our
" yielding tyrants? I burn for that glorious
" day; but I cannot consent to hazard our
" triumph by any rashness or impatience.
" Enough has our country suffered by such
" intemperance. It saw the hope of con-
" quest baffled, and the pride of its bravest
" sons brought low because of it; and I,
" who remember these past afflictions, call
" upon you in the name of your suffering
" country, to submit to the precautions
" which she thinks it wise to adopt, and to
" be satisfied with holding yourselves al-
" ways ready to obey the call, which you
" demand with such a gallant impatience.
" And now," said he, taking advantage of an appearance of returning satisfaction, " now," said he, " examine well your arms, " and hold yourselves ready to start forward " on the business of the night, as soon as " our friends make the signals."

While the officers were making this examination, Ormsby, who was watching every thing with the intense anxiety so natural in his situation, heard the General expressing some impatience about the delay of the signals; but what was his alarm, when he heard him say to one of his attendants, "Go up, "O'Neil, to the tower, and look out; you "can see farther than the scouts, and bring "me word, whether you can discern any "beacon kindled on the mountain." Every word of this fell upon Ormsby's ear like a death stroke; and when he heard the steps already on the staircase, he concluded that his days upon earth were ended. Escape was utterly impossible; the window of the turret was thirty feet from the ground, and so narrow that he could not force his way through it; he might, indeed, ascend the battlements, and fling himself off; but the abbey was guarded outside, and he must assuredly be seized in his attempt to fly, even if he survived the consequences of the fall. He therefore resigned himself to his fate, and already imagined himself placed in the

centre of the sanguinary group below him, and made the first victim of the night.

But he was not then to perish. To his indescribable joy, the General's voice was heard, and never sounded voice so musically on Ormsby's ear—"Hark!" said he, "listen! "the signal." The steps on the staircase advanced no higher; and a succession of whistles from a distance were now plainly to be heard; the last rung, as before, from the archway, and was taken up at various distances back again; the replies could barely be heard. All this time, the throng in the abbey was breaking up into numerous detached parties, each, it would seem, appointed for a different service, as the General spoke to the commander of each some words of direction.

Another sound now broke upon them; it was the sound of horns, which beginning afar off, was taken up at nearer intervals, until the last note was echoed from the archway. It was not the open fearless tone of the gallant bugle; it was a low, heavy, ruthless note, well beseeming, Ormsby thought, the

murderous orgies to which it gave the summons. During this time the various parties had been marching out, and, as the last horn sounded, all had departed; and the General, with a few attendants remained, looking after them as they past away. He, too, remained but for a few moments behind, and, having appointed a place of meeting on the third night from the present, dismissed his attendants, and, accompanied by only two persons, left the ruin.

Ormsby was left alone, looking down into the deserted hall. He could scarcely persuade himself that the past occurrences had been real; that he had been in such imminent danger, and had been preserved. Every thing before him seemed so quiet and solitary, so unlike the frightful scene which had been just presented, that he began to think his senses were wandering. But, as he looked from the window of the tower, and saw the various parties scattering abroad, some plunging into the wood, some entering the river and fording across to the other side, some passing over the hill, and all proceed-

ing in order and at a very rapid pace, he felt the terrible reality of the whole scene.

The General and one companion were below him, looking on the various groups as they departed. "There they go," said the General, "ruffians! who are cowards without the love of life. There is not a single "body of those villains which would not "scatter at the resistance of three brave "men; and there is not a man, perhaps, in "the whole multitude we have seen, who "would not afterwards die with an indifference, which would do honour to an "ancient stoic."

The reply was, "They seem to be impatient for a general rising, which does not "indicate any thing cowardly in their disposition."

"Yes, yes; they will have an explosion; "they little care or think whether it is "their cause or their enemy they blow up. "They think they would have freer licence; "that it should be every where plunder and "licentiousness; but I know them well, "wretches!"

" And is there no intention of having a " general rising?"

" My good friend, can you think that, " with instruments like these, any thing can " be gained in open war. With you I can " have no secrets. Our whole plans I will " unfold to you fully this night. Indeed, I " am directed so to do; but it is only by " the promise of boundless success we can " act upon these clods. They must be our in- " struments; but they shall not know our " designs. They shall serve us to agitate the " country, and to make the privileged or- " ders feel their insignificance, and wither " in our sight; but they shall not seem im- " portant to the government; it is sleeping, " and we will not disturb it."

" But you will find it a difficult matter to " reconcile these fierce men to such repeated " postponements of your enterprize."

" Yes, I began to feel a little alarmed " about it to night; that old father cla- " mouring about his sons was confusing, but " we have got through the difficulty; and I

" am strongly of opinion, that I will not
" tempt fortune by trying another. I was
" well pleased to night that they cannot
" penetrate my disguises; I would not de-
" pend on one of them, they would all be-
" tray me. You are wise to keep yourself
" concealed; put yourself once in their
" power, and you are their slave or their
" victim. But come, where are the horses,
" we have a long way to ride; and if these
" ruffians perform well the business of this
" and the next night, we may leave the
" country to themselves for months to
" come."

This conversation took place nearly under the window of the tower where Ormsby was listening; the speakers left the place; it seemed as if they had waited until the marauding parties left the vicinity of the abbey; and soon after he heard the retreating tramp of horses moving rapidly over the sod. He then ventured to leave his concealment, and proceeded cautiously home, where he found that the family had retired to rest, and

left a message for him, to request that he would be ready at an early hour in the morning, to accompany them to breakfast at the house of Mr. Hewson, a friend of Mr. G—'s, who lived at a few miles distance.

CHAPTER III.

Ormsby lay awake for a long time ruminating on the occurrences of the evening. He had the precaution to see, before he retired to his chamber, that the doors and windows were put into as good a posture of defence, as Mr. G——'s supineness rendered them capable of. It seemed evident to him, that his guardian's safety was a kind of Cyclop's boon, and that as soon as the shelter of the old abbey ceased to be necessary. Mr. G——'s house and property would be subjected to the same laws of pillage as those under which his neighbours were harrassed. And yet he hesitated whether he should communicate to him what he had witnessed under such awful circumstances. Mr. G—— was a man who had a kind of antipathy to the exercise of thought. He had a high sense of his importance and

his popularity, and would consider, perhaps, his own ignorance of such an association in his neighbourhood, as a presumption that none such existed. He might tell Ormsby that he was a visionary—" that he " had dreamed of such a scene—that his " brain was so heated by his reveries and his " reading that he had mistaken his imagi- " tions for truth;" and he would conclude by remarking, " that such an association could " not possibly exist without his knowledge, " and there was an end of it." All this occurred to Ormsby, and yet he could not rest satisfied with permitting the old gentleman to remain in ignorance of his dangerous neighbours. Was there any one in the neighbourhood whom he could consult? He went over the names of all the country gentlemen in his mind, without being able to fix upon any one with whom it would be prudent to hold a communication on so delicate a subject, and (as frequently happens in such cases) sleep surprized him before he had formed any resolution by which he was to be guided.

" what I was making bould to spake to
" your honour about, is a little bill of mine
" your honour—for work I gave last year,
" plase your honour."

" Ryan!" said Mr. Hewson, without seeming to notice or even to hear the poor man's request—" open the kennel."

" Yes, sir," said Ryan, a wicked, roguish looking fellow with one eye, who had been attending on his master, and who now lounged carelessly towards the kennel, singing as he went—

This is the sport,
To which we do resort.

" Oh, for the love of God your honour," cried the poor man, " don't let him let out
" the dogs, or they'll tare me to pieces. Let
" me go away this wonst, and God bless your
" honour—and I'll take my oath on all the
" books that ever was shut and open, that
" I'll never come troubling your honour
" again."

" Ryan!" said Mr. Hewson, without looking towards the poor wretch who was sup-

plicating for mercy, "reason with this man."

'Twas all one to Ryan—he came back with the same careless air as that with which he was going to unkennel some very fierce hounds, and perhaps halloo them on the unfortunate being. His reasoning, too, was short; it was simply the procuring a book and compelling the poor man to swear that he would never again come to demand his debt. Still the poor creature (after having sworn) was casting a longing look toward Mr. Hewson. "Ah! if your honour would "look upon my case, and the agent going "to drive me for the rent."—"Whisht, you "spalpeen," cried Ryan—"Don't vex the "master—is'nt it an honour for you, and "sure its little the likes of you—or the father "before before you, could ever expect such "a commendation, to have a gentleman "owing you money?"—"Oh, then, that's "true enough, Mr. Ryan, and its' little "trouble I'd give his honour, only the times "are so hard; and if your honour," said he, raising his voice a little, "would spake a

" word for me to the agent:"—" Did'nt I " tell you (said Ryan) not to be troubling " his honour? don't you think we have " something else to mind, than to hear your " petitions: go home, I tell you, or may be " its a word to the magistrate you'll get for " yourself, to send you where the blacks " will ate you worse than the hounds:"— " It's little matter where I go—I get no right " here," muttered the poor fellow, as he walked slowly out of the yard.

" Mr. Ormsby," said Mr. Hewson, " if " ever you come to live in the country, by " all means get a pack of hounds—I am " going now to look at my kennel, and I " think I can shew you some of the best " bred, and best toned hounds that our " country possesses." " But, Sir, it may " not be altogether safe for a stranger to " visit them—I heard a poor man imploring " you not to unkennel them."—" Oh, aye— " ha, ha, ha! but *you* need not fear, they " have a keen scent—I can tell you that " foxes are not the only vermin a pack of " hounds can keep away from you—Ryan

" undertakes that my hounds shall, out of
" twenty persons collected in my yard, scent
" out a single dun—and that was the predi-
" cament in which the poor devil stood who
" was so frightened; he might as well be
" smeared in foxes blood—you look grave,
" Sir; but I can tell you, when you know
" the world as well as I do, you will under-
" stand how necessary it is to keep these
" fellows in due subordination; if you gave
" them a habit of being attended to, you
" should be constantly pestered, and there
" is no knowing where it would end"—
" But, Sir, this poor man said something
" about last year, as if"—Ormsby paused, ashamed to speak what he supposed would provoke a person so much his senior; but he was mistaken—" As if he had been so long
" seeking his money. Yes, so he was, as
" I remember, but now I think he will seek it
" no longer—the seekers are an unfortunate
" sect here—so I dare say he will wait now
" for my good pleasure; but come—now for
" the ladies—I suppose you think me an old
" fellow, but you'll find yourself devilishly

" mistaken, when you see me securing the " prettiest girl of your whole party as my " portion of the spoil; so come on—I'll " shew you the kennel some other time: Ryan " send these fellows about their business, " and see that the horses are well taken " care of."

Ormsby found that Mr. Hewson was determined not to be considered " an old " fellow." There was a vivacity about him, which, as it was the result only of animal spirits, was perhaps more suitable to the companies in which he generally found himself, than if it had derived its origin or its ornaments from the excursions of a lively fancy. He conducted himself as a man who was accustomed to consider himself, and to feel himself considered, the principal person in every society, and romped and rioted like one who had not experienced, or at least *felt* a rebuff; perhaps, within the circle of good manners, but at its extremest verge. Ormsby, who had learned to bear all parts in society, who could preserve his respectability as a fourth, or quietly assume the first place,

and do its honours, if it was his right to claim it, was well pleased to be freed from all necessity for exertion during the day, by Mr. Hewson's obstinate resolution not to be an old man. He could not help, several times, contrasting the appearance of good humour in his present manner, with the unmoved gravity of that in which he dismissed the poor dun; and sometimes he was disposed to smile at the ludicrous appearance of the morning scene, the master and man so perfectly cool and indifferent, and the wretched peasant in such a panic; but more often, he thought with indignation on the conduct of one who ought to be a protector and a guide to the poor, and who exhibited, in his own person, a cruel disregard to their wants, and an example of gross injustice.

At about six o'clock the drawing-room was crowded by company who had come to dinner. The ladies were sitting together, and the gentlemen, standing in various groups through the room, were occupied upon subjects which belonged peculiarly to them.

Upon the present occasion, the entire conversation was on the subject of a very dreadful outrage which had been committed the night before. The house of a person, who had been a prosecutor at a trial, was forcibly entered, and the family, consisting of seven persons, all massacred! It would appear, that a stout resistance had been made, for, outside the house, much blood was discovered, and it might be traced to a considerable distance. There had also been several shots heard by the people in the neighbourhood, and as the firing was renewed at different periods of the night, and in the same direction, it was supposed that the murderers were repeatedly repulsed; and it was considered a very unusual circumstance, and one full of alarm, (as indicating an increase of courage or better discipline, and perhaps more fixedness of purpose), that they returned to make a second attack on the same night.

All the company were speaking vehemently, and sometimes almost all together; and Ormsby was listening, pondering intently,

after the first horror had subsided, on the scene of which he had been a witness in the old abbey, when he felt himself suddenly rouzed by a voice which he had not heard before, and which, though more quiet than that of any other speaker, caused him to start from his meditations, and look round eagerly for the person from whom it proceeded. His suspicions that he had heard it in a very different scene on the former night, were, though not confirmed, strengthened. The person who spoke appeared taller than the General, his figure was more slender, and his face paler, and of a fairer colour, he wore powder, and had very little hair on the crown of his head, whereas the General appeared to have thick dark hair. But Ormsby well knew that such changes could be easily explained; and while he saw the proportions and shape of the face similar, and when, after some time, he had an opportunity of seeing the profile in very nearly the same situation as he had seen the General's on the preceding night, he considered that the suspicions which the sound of the voice awakened were strengthened by

the appearance. After some time, he took occasion to inquire of Mr. Hewson the name of this guest, and learned, that he was a stranger in the country, that his name was Stock, and that he was a visitor at Mr. Craven's, a neighbour, with whom he had come to dinner. "He is reckoned," added he, "a person of information, and spends "a great deal of his time in travelling."

Dinner passed off, as frequently happens, without furnishing any thing worthy to be recorded. All went on very pleasantly to the parties interested; they were noisy and good humoured, and well entertained, as it is called; but I do not expect that my Readers would be so, were I to serve up again all the good jests, which however well received at the time, would be sad things if repeated.

The ladies are gone, and the state of the country, as usual, occupies every mind. What were the government doing, or what did they mean to do? Did they mean to leave the country gentlemen to be butchered by a set of ruffians who ought to be exterminated and swept off the face of the earth? Ormsby

thought he might have been able to learn something of the causes which created the disturbances by which the country was so harrassed; but Mr. Hewson warmly protested against any such unimportant enquiry. "Put down the scoundrels," said he, "and "then at your leisure talk about causes. "Causes, indeed; why, Sir, if the rascals "thought that we had the slightest consi- "deration about them, you could never keep "them down. Indeed, when once they *are* "down, I should not object to thinking "about them, for the wretches are miser- "able enough; but until then, not a word of "causes, except such causes as the judge "hears, and a rope is the end of." Ormsby suggested, that a knowledge of the source of the disorderly spirit in the country might enable the government and the gentry to counteract it with less injury to the country at large, and with more lenity to the unfortunate insurgents; but this did not at all coincide with Mr. Hewson's views. "Le- "nity, Sir," said he, "lenity to such bar- "barians; the scoundrels would despise you

" for it themselves. Lenity, oh! if it comes to " lenity—fill your glass Mr. Stock—lenity, " indeed!" A gentleman here observed, that Mr. Hewson had himself frequently said, that the poor were oppressed by the exactions of the clergy and their proctors, and that *that* grievance might be remedied. " Not yet, " Sir, not yet; scourge those ruffians first, " and then do them justice. I would not give " them law or right until they are as tame as " my spaniel. Why, Sir, I remember a time, " when the fellows would scatter and run " into bog holes to hide, if they saw me gal- " loping towards them. I used to ride a large " black horse; and Sir William Bearcroft " and I, with two servants each, well armed, " used to scour the country, and not a fel- " low dare be seen on the roads that did 'nt " down on his knees till we pass'd by; and " now a scoundrel will pass you with his " hat on his head, and look up in your face; " and because I broke a fellow's scull the " other day for his insolence, the scoundrel " went to a magistrate, actually went, to " lodge informations against me! and these

" are the fellows to be treated with lenity?
" Certainly, as to what you were saying
" about proctors, that is all true. These
" rascals ride about the country on as good
" horses as you and I do, and their impu-
" dence is not to be borne. Why, what do
" think of that scoundrel, Frigs? He had
" the assurance to send me a process last
" week; but he's not dead yet. Mr. Ormsby,
" the bottle stands with you. I hope you have
" no intention of putting on a petticoat, and
" quarrelling about the tithes. I never knew
" a clergyman who was not fond of the good
" things of this world. I see you don't like
" to hear the church abused; but I hope
" you'll allow, that the tithes are a great
" grievance. I have my maxim, let every
" man pay for as much religion as he wants.
" There's Stapleton, who never misses a
" Sunday from church, and he pays no more
" tithes than I do, who never go there ex-
" cept on Christmas-day; for I always make
" it a rule to go with all my family once
" a year, and I like to keep up the old cus-
" toms. But is it not devilish hard, that I

" must pay more for my one visit than
" Stapleton for his whole year's sermons?
" And pray can you answer me this plain
" question; what does Mr. Ripton want of
" such an income as twelve hundred a year?
" Could not we get a man to do all the
" duties for the tenth part of the money."
" Mr. Paine, Sir," said Ormsby, " has an
" observation like yours, only differently
" applied; he says, that it would be possible
" to procure a good plain sensible man,
" who should do all the business of a King,
" at an expense of not more than fifty pounds
" a year."

" D—n, Paine, Sir, and all his adherents,
" and all republicans; but, Sir, all your
" hints and inuendoes shan't persuade me,
" that the church is not a great deal too
" rich, and that it is not a most unjust thing
" that we should be paying to pamper them
" up. I would be always for paying the
" clergy liberally; let every man live; but
" to think of giving a man a thousand a year
" for mumbling over a few prayers every
" Sunday, it is a crying injustice."

Ormsby had discretion enough to perceive, that reasoning would not be well employed against Mr. Hewson's positions, or well received from *him*. He was, he felt, too young, and too little an authority to procure a calm hearing; so that, although he saw the fallacy of Mr. Hewson's positions, and had his mind impregnated with the noble and philosophical sentiments of Burke, he thought it more prudent to be silent, and let the conversation take some other turn. But, to his great surprise, the argument was taken up on his side, where he least expected it, by Mr. Stock. Ormsby had been observing him the whole evening; he expected to see something which would confirm his suspicions; but there was nothing; no watchful glance, no start, no appearance of restraint or over excitement. Once, in the course of a short conversation with him, Ormsby, observing that Mr. Stock, as well as himself, was a stranger in the country, begged to direct his attention to a very fine old ruin, as well worthy a traveller's inspection, and asked if he had been to see it.

While he spoke, he was observing Mr. Stock's countenance, but could not discover the slightest mark of emotion at the question or during the reply:—"When you have come "to my time of life, Sir, I can promise you, "that your interest in old ruins will have "passed away." This was spoken in the same easy manner as his other remarks; and it puzzled Ormsby to think if it were possible for any man to have so disengaged an air under the circumstances in which he suspected the words to have been spoken. But he was still more puzzled now, to hear this very person, taking up the argument which he had himself shrunk away from, and with the most perfect composure of manner, and with great strength of reasoning, combating Mr. Hewson's opinions.

"Sir," said he to Mr. Hewson, "may I ask, "whether you think a clergyman a less proper "person than any other to be in possession of "wealth merely because he is a clergyman? "If a son of yours, for instance, by some "unaccountable chance, should have the

"misfortune to be in orders, would you "think that, for such an offence, he ought "to be deprived of the income which you "might have bestowed upon him? Would you "allow of no alternative but that of surrender-"ing his property, or quitting the church?"

"For aught I care, the clergy may be as "rich as Jews; they may dine off gold, and "give their horses champaigne if they please, "but I don't think they ought to make me "pay for it."

"Certainly, a very proper distinction; but "do they make you pay?"

"Do they? to be sure they do. Don't "my tenants pay, and does not that go out "of my pocket, and don't I pay myself,—when "I can't help it? And let me tell you, Sir, "that all the disturbances in the country are "caused by tithes."

"I should have supposed, that there must "be some other cause." (Ormsby thought, that the Kennel scene of the morning might be considered as one.) "I cannot see why the "people will pay rents without disorder, and "dispute about the tithe, which is so much "less heavy."

"Sir, you mistake the case; the things "are totally different; the clergy are paid "for what they do"——

"And the lay gentry, I suppose, for doing "nothing."

"Sir, I inherit from an ancestor who served "his king, and was rewarded by a grant, "which has come down to his succes- "sors."

"You then admit, that the king had the "right to make such grant, and that he "could have even given your property, or "any part of it, to any other person."

"To be sure I do; and here, fill a bumper, "I'll give you 'His memory,' for disposing "of it as he did."

"Well then, Sir, can you be offended be- "cause that king did not give your ancestor "the *entire* produce of the land, but left it "subject to a certain charge, as a kind of "mortgage on the property, for the purpose "of keeping up in the country another order "of gentry, distinct from yours, and whose "business it should be to cultivate piety "and learning, and so be serviceable to the "purity and civilization of manners and cha-

"racter. For my part, were I a great landed "proprietor in the country, I should be very "unwilling to promulgate such notions as "yours with respect to the wisdom of the "tithe establishment, least, if the people "heard *me*, a person who enjoyed the bounty "of a sovereign, upbraiding that sovereign "with want of wisdom, because he had not "given me the tithes as well as the rest of what "I possessed, *they* might go a little further, "and question the wisdom which gave me "the land; and then, if it came to be de- "cided whether the clergy or the lay land- "lords were, in proportion to their respective "incomes, more serviceable in the country, "I would not very willingly trust the secu- "rity of my possessions to the decision."

While Mr. Stock was carrying on a conversation in this strain, Ormsby listened in extreme perplexity; and while every thing he saw and heard, tended to confirm him in the suspicion, that the speaker was no other than the General, the sentiments appeared to him so unsuitable to such a character, that he could scarcely think it possible that

they proceeded from a person disaffected to the established order of things. But had he been better acquainted with the views of the disturbers and the state of the country, he would not have thought Mr. Stock's arguments in the least unsuitable to the rebel chief.

Tithes were a good topic with which to inflame the people's minds; but it could not be the design of the disturbers to proceed no farther than the removal of one grievance. The tithe system had become unpopular, because the people were continually told by their landlords, that this was the grievance which made them miserable. The fact, in reality, was, that the clergy had for a long period conceded a large portion of their rights, imagining, perhaps, that they should live on easier terms with their poor neighbours, when they had commuted their legal tithes into a twentieth, and, in many instances, a thirtieth of the agricultural produce. But the poor had lost the benefit of this moderation; for the landlords advanced in their demands in the same proportion as the clergy made con-

occasions; and the very men, who were receiving, under the name of rent, a considerable part of the income which was the clergyman's right, were continually maligning, for want of moderation, the men who had *systematically resigned to the necessities of the poor, a full half of their income*, and who, for the most part, spent the remaining half usefully among them. But the landlords had succeeded in rendering tithes unpopular, for, while they continually assailed the church, and spoke of its rapacity among their poor dependants; the clergy were scarcely ever known to retaliate, and were so averse from using any expression which might be injurious to the public peace, that they did not even attempt explaining to the people, the nature of their property, or shewing them that, if the landlords made the same reduction, or any think like it, in their rents, which they had made in their tithes, instead of being the starving wretches they were, they might be the most comfortable peasantry in the world. In consequence of this virulence on the one hand, and for-

bearance on the other, the tithes had become a subject for the violence of every agitator; but it was not difficult to see, that they would not end with tithes alone, but would soon proceed to the consideration of rents; and this was a subject upon which they had been for some time employed.

It was not, therefore, at all surprising, that Mr. Stock, even though Ormsby's suspicions were right, should take an opportunity of instructing the gentlemen at Mr. Hewson's table, that, however severe the oppression of tithes might be, that of rent was greater. The company, with the exception of Mr. Hewson and one other gentleman, consisted of large landholders, "Gentlemen farmers," as they were called, who had now begun to feel, on a decline of the prices of agricultural produce, that their rents were heavy; and it was not at all unsuitable to the purposes of an agitator, who knew how they felt upon the tithe system, to turn their attention to another grievance. Accordingly Mr. Stock proceeded at length in his argument, and shewed, that if it was a severe hardship

upon a Roman Catholic peasantry to pay *tithes* to persons who performed NO SERVICE IN RETURN, it was a still greater hardship to be compelled to pay a much larger sum, *that is, the rent*, to persons, who not only performed no service to them, or their religion, but whose only title to income was, *that their ancestors had overturned that very religion which the payers of rent professed.* Besides, he added, the people might feel that the tithe was the only property in Ireland which had not been forcibly wrested from themselves. "Your property, Sir," said he to Mr. Hewson, "was taken from an Irish "family for supporting the religion of their "country, and bestowed upon your ances- "tors for destroying it; but there was one "part which did not belong to the original "proprietor, and that was the tithe. It "should be natural therefore, that the de- "scendants of that proprietor, although "they may be extremely indignant that you "are receiving the rents which they may "consider *their right*, should feel much "more calm about the tithe, which was not

" theirs in the old time, and which would not
" be theirs now, were they, up to this day,
" the proprietors of the soil."

During the whole of this conversation, Mr. Hewson, who felt himself overmatched, made many attempts to have a new subject called; he praised his wines, and told their age; he spoke of the illicit distillation, and and endeavoured to make a diversion into the distillery laws; but the company were so well pleased to have such topics as Mr. Stock introduced displayed before them, that however they might, for an instant, comply with Mr. Hewson, and turn aside, they immediately came back to the subject in which they felt most interested.

The conversation was at its highest animation, the company strongly excited, and Mr. Hewson on the verge of taking shelter, from the arguments with which Mr. Stock continued to persecute him, under violent and intemperate language, when the door was thrown open, and a servant rushed into the room, pale and disordered in appearance. " Colonel Raymond, Sir!" said he, " Colo-

" nel Raymond!" said Mr. Hewson; "where " is he? show the Colonel in. D—n you, " you rascal, why don't you speak? is " Colonel Raymond here?" " He's shot, Sir! " murdered outside his demesne wall!" All the company started up, speechless with horror and amazement; and now, for the first time, Ormsby thought his suspicions confirmed. He was sitting opposite Mr. Stock, and felt, when he looked at him, as if a sudden light had arisen, which shone through all his disguises, and manifested him as he was. Violent emotion was, for a moment, marked in his appearance and manner, his countenance was flushed, and a new spirit flashed in his eyes, and, as Ormsby thought, a momentary expression of triumph brightened around him, but there was nothing of astonishment—nothing of horror; it was the expression of one who had laid a train and watched the explosion; there was agitation in it, but not astonishment. As his eye caught Ormsby's, who, through all his horror, kept viewing this man, he almost started, and, with some confusion, spoke about or-

dering out their horses; but Ormsby cried out vehemently, "Seize him!—seize that "man, that murderer, Stock!—I denounce "you as a murderer, a traitor, an assassin! "I saw you!—I know you!—The ruin! the "ruin! Ha, 'General!'—I know you!"

New amazement spread through the whole company: every man looked at Ormsby, gasping out vehemently and unconnectedly, his charge against Mr. Stock, who had now completely recovered himself, and was listening with composure, but with an appearance of astonishment, and with something of pity in his manner, to the young man who was almost like a maniac giving utterance to some horrible fancy.

When Ormsby had ended his wild and seemingly frantic accusation, and while the guests were looking on in a state of amazement, and hesitating what was to be done, Mr. Stock turned round to Mr. Hewson, and said, with the calmest air, as if of condolence, "Poor young man! I feel no kind "of anger against him. Mr. Craven, you "know that I spent the entire of last

" night with you, and you can answer for
" the visionary nature of this poor young
" gentleman's accusation." Mr. Craven instantly undertook to answer for his friend, that the charges made by Mr. Ormsby were totally unfounded; and all the company became firmly convinced that in consequence of over excitement and visionary habits, some temporary derangement had taken place in the young man's intellects, in consequence of which he mistook, for reality, the fantastic images of an over-heated imagination. " Come," said Mr. Hewson, " this is no
" time to think of dreams and fancies; bring
" out horses—quick—saddle and lead out
" horses! Put my pistols in the holsters:
" let every gentleman arm himself!" The horses were quickly ready; and as all gentlemen were armed wherever they went, there soon was mounted a well prepared party of ten persons, who set off at a very rapid pace toward the place where the murder had been committed. As they rode on they could hear shots fired at different distances, as if conveying intelligence

of the murder to a very remote extent; and at intervals, upon the mountain-side, they could see persons start out in the hedges and sometimes ascend on the house tops, and shout and wave their hats, and then spring rapidly forward and disappear in a thick wood which spread along half-way up the hill. As they approached the place where the murder was committed, and where the body was still lying, they saw a large party of dragoons, and some gentlemen galloping towards them from a contrary direction, and nearly at the same time both parties arrived at the spot where so horrid a spectacle awaited them. The body was literally, in every part, perforated with bullets and dreadfully mangled; the head had been severed, and was placed on a stake which had been driven through the breast, and fixed firmly in the ground; and although some few persons had collected on the spot, yet, so terrible was the vengeance of the murderers considered, that no one ventured to pay to the corpse a respect which, in Ireland particularly, it is thought almost

unhallowed to neglect. The reason assigned for the extreme barbarity with which the insensible remains were treated, was, that Colonel Raymond had suggested the expediency of having two malefactors, much admired amongst their associates, hanged in chains in a populous part of the country.

The only account that could be obtained of the horrid business, was given by a gentleman who rode in with the dragoons. He had been riding past Colonel Raymond's demesne, and, at the extremity of the wall, he perceived, at an angle on the brow of the hill, some men who were armed, and who were lying concealed from all who came in an opposite direction. They challenged this gentleman when he came near, and insisted on his retracing his steps, which he accordingly did. He had not proceeded far, when he heard the report of a shot, and stopping for a moment to look back, he heard a kind of loose hedge-firing commenced and kept up for some time; and during the firing, the furious galloping of a horse up the hill which concealed all objects from his view. As

the sound of the galloping seemed to advance nearer to the summit, a horse and rider appeared; the rider apparently covered with blood; but before he could turn the brow of the hill, (just when his own lawn had spread vividly before him) he had fallen off, and a number of persons, with the most hideous yells, rushed forward and surrounded him. At sight of this, the gentleman rode on rapidly to the barracks in the neighbourhood, and conducted the dragoons to the place. The narrative proceeds to relate the conduct of Ormsby and his companions, and their success in arresting a large party of insurgents, supposed to be the murderers of Colonel Raymond. What follows is a description of the peril to which he was exposed, in consequence of his exertions.

CHAP. IV.

"ORMSBY thought it prudent to be more cautious, for a time, in his moonlight rambles. He was fully convinced, that Mr. Stock and the General were the same person; and although he had endured a long lecture from his guardian on the sad consequences of his visionary habits in exposing him to an open shame, he retained his opinion, and believed that Mr. Craven also was an associate in the conspiracy. He was the more confirmed in these opinions, when he heard, in the course of a very few days, that Mr. Stock had left the country without visiting the prisoners. Many of the country gentlemen had been at the prison to see the persons who had been arrested. Ormsby had hoped, that something might occur, if Mr. Stock were confronted with them, which should give him an opportunity of urging his accusation

under more favourable circumstances. He intended to have it proposed, that Mr. Stock should examine the prisoners, and determined to observe narrowly whether he altered his voice, and what effect it produced on the culprits; but, whatever he hoped or intended was of little moment, for Mr. Stock did not visit the prisoners, and he has left the country.

Ormsby's caution was by no means unnecessary, as far as could be judged from the circumstances. He received some anonymous intimations of the dangers to which he was exposed; and although Mr. G——'s house and demesne were unmolested, yet it was said, that persons were seen prowling about all of Ormsby's haunts; and on one occasion, a party of police, patrolling in the dusk of the evening, arrested two fellows in arms, whom they found lying in a thicket where Ormsby had frequently been known to read until the light failed him. Many little circumstances made it probable, that his life was in peril, and, at all events, rendered caution indispensable. However, he felt no

annoyance at the precautions he was forced to observe, for he now began to consider himself in an enemy's country; and it is surprising to think how reconciled we become to danger, and to the precautions which it renders necessary, as soon as we feel that it is natural to the situation in which we are placed. I have known a gentleman, in his easy chair, before a blazing fire, complain of the cold air which entered through some inconsiderable aperture, and brought a chill into the comfort of his apartment; and the same gentleman, in the open air, and in the cold, quite insensible to the rigor of the season.

It is so in other things also. When the character of the condition in which we are is security, a slight danger annoys and disturbs us; but when the condition is changed, and we feel that we have gone out into peril, then the mind becomes familiarized to the circumstances, and freed from all annoying anxieties. Ormsby experienced the truth of this. He did not, like his friend Lorton, actually love danger; he would have

preferred, at all calm moments, a state of security; but, now that he was surrounded by perils into which he had not voluntarily entered, but been driven by circumstances, he felt that there was in danger an excitement which was not unpleasing. He spent the greater part of the night, and frequently of the day, in patrolling the country; and as he was seldom alone, and was now known never to be unarmed, many a scheme laid for his assassination was frustrated. At last, driven from all cautious plans, it was resolved, that he should be murdered in the open day, and a party lay in wait to intercept him on his return from the little town of ——, where he had gone to arrange some business, and from which it was expected, as his habit was, he would return alone.

The place appointed for the murder was at a little stream, which crossed Ormsby's road, at the extremity of a thick wood, where he always stopped that his horse might drink, and where he frequently remained for some time in admiration of the beauty of the

place. It was a sweet and most sequestered spot, a little withdrawn from the highway, and surrounded with hills of gentle forms, sheltering it from all winds, and making it, except for the sound of the little stream, and the voices of birds from the old wood, the residence of silence and contemplation. This was the place selected for the murder: the assassins were to be at the corner of the wood; and, while Ormsby was giving his horse water, and almost within reach of their weapons, he was to be shot; and if the first shot failed to dispatch him, they had no fears that he could possibly escape from five persons determined on his death.

These five persons are not now in ambush at the appointed place; they are assembled in a hut, almost in the centre of the wood, and have posted, in different directions, some boys, trained up to such purposes, and who are to give notice of Ormsby's coming. Those who passed and beheld these boys as (on such occasions), they were thrown negligently on the ditch, and playing with their dogs, or, as sometimes happened, high above

the heads of passengers in the branches of a lofty tree, had little idea of the vigilance with which they watched, or the purpose for which they were so stationed. But the murderers had full dependance upon them, and are now in their hut, enjoying themselves with the utmost complacency. A plentiful but limited allowance of whiskey has been assigned to them, and they are sitting in perfect composure and indifference, smoking at intervals from a short black tobacco pipe, which passes from mouth to mouth, and speaking on subjects such as are frequently discussed amongst the lower Irish.

" Why then now, Denis," said a soft-faced white hair'd young fellow, addressing himself to an elderly looking man, " I wonder is " hell such a cruel bad place as they say it " is." " Devil a worse, can be, Larry, my " jewel; I often heard all about it from Tim " Condon, and sure enough, 'tis the Devil's " own place. You'd see pans there, like " the pans that meat is fried in, only big- " ger, and they red hot, and on a terrible " hot fire, and three chains going up from

" the sides of 'em, and a kiver hanging on the
" chains, and as soon as a sowl comes with-
" in their doors, they stick him with a flish
" fork, and put him into the pan, and then
" they let down the red hot kiver upon him,
" and there they stay; and in other places
" you'd see great ovens, and the Devils
" throwing in the poor sowls like furze that
" a baker puts in; and then when the ovens
" are quite full and can hould no more,
" they put a great red hot stone to the
" mouth of it, and the sowls within are so
" crammed together, that they can't stir, only
" lie burning and can't get breath, and the
" fire roaring around them, and if a word
" would save them they can't speak or groan;
" Oh! 'tis a terrible place." " How can that
" be," said the third speaker, " sure they
" sometimes appear on earth?" " That's
" the sowls in limbo, that appear, for they
" never get out of hell." " If it was," re-
joined the other, " How could I see young
" Cowley, on Wednesday night last, and he
" a heretic; and didn't he ride by me like
" a blast of wind, as I was carrying away

" away a sheep that I stole from his father,
" and knock the sheep off of my back, and
" when I stoop'd to rise it again, Oh! De-
" vil a one of me could stir it, no more than
" if it was Slieve-na-mon mountain; and
" there was he standing over me on his horse,
" and I reel'd into the ditch, and then when
" morning came, I took it up as aisy as ever
" I did in my life; and how could young
" Cowley be there if he was in one of the pans
" or the oven?" " Oh, 'faith you must ask
" Tim Condon that, for he knows all about
" it, and 'tis he that will tache you what a
" terrible place it is." " Why then, bad luck
" to me!" said a fierce looking dark man, who
had not spoken yet, " but its a murder to kill
" this young creater to day, and he having
" the right thing in him, and a good warrant
" to sarve the poor." " And bad luck to you,
" again, Jerry," said the elder, who seemed
to be the leader of the party, " why should
" not he be killed, and what harm will it do
" any one. What signifies to him whether
" he goes to hell to day, or in two or three
" years time. Why a year is no more there

" man than a leaf in this wood. And, says " Tim Condon to me, Dennis, says he, " what matter is it to kill a heretic, God " will soon shake them all into hell, just as " the leaves drop from the trees at the fall of " the year; and where's the harm of shaking " off two or three a little sooner, there's no " fear but there'll be enough of 'em wait- " ing for their sintence." " If we left the " priest's share in him itself," said the other, " may be he'd turn before he died." " Your " soul to the D—l," cried the chief enraged, " Why should we leave the priest's share, " was'nt it he that had the boys took up, " and did not the General desire him to be " shot?"

One of the boys, who had been placed as scouts, here came up; he had been desired not to make any loud signal if he saw Ormsby riding slowly; but to come to the hut, as there would then be sufficient time to intercept him; but if he was riding rapidly, the boy was to whistle as he had been taught, and then run to the hut, whistling occasionally on the way, least the first

might not have been heard. But as Ormsby was known always to ride slowly by the wood side, and sometimes even to lead his horse, (so little was this wood supposed to be the haunt of malefactors,) they were sure that there would be sufficient time to allow of the boys coming up to them, and of their posting themselves at the place appointed for the murder. As they expected, the boy came, and said, that Mr. Ormsby was, as usual, alone, and riding slowly along; that he had just past the turn of the road, and was walking his horse slowly by the side of the wood. The murderers were ready; even he who had unsuccessfully attempted to be Ormsby's advocate; the portion of whiskey which remained was divided, and all drank; and having looked well to their arms, which were all of the best description, they proceeded deliberately, but at a quick pace, to the stream.

Ormsby's way from the town, before he came to the wood, lay by the side of an old burying-ground, where there were still the ruins of a church. Such scenes had a strong influence upon him, and he frequently paused

as he passed along, to think upon the appearance of repose and desolation which the place exhibited. On this day he saw an old woman on her knees before a gravestone; her beads were hanging down from her hands, and her head occasionally bent upon her bosom. Before he came near her, he was remarking the appearance of ostentation in her piety; for he could see her several times looking out toward the road, as if to see whether passengers were taking notice of her. As he rode nearer, he saw that she had turned herself entirely toward him, and although still in the attitude of prayer, her countenance was toward the road, and moving as he moved. After some little time, and after looking to both sides of him, and seeing him alone on the road, she beckoned to him, with a vehement gesture, to come near her. Ormsby paused for a moment, but only for a moment, for he felt great interest in every thing that appeared like adventure, and leading his horse gently over some fallen stones in the old wall of the burying-ground, he came up to the woman. He was a little

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surprized and disappointed to find, when he came near, that she was Julia's nurse, who had been recommended to him when he was coming into the country, and for whom he had performed some little services. "I want "you," said she; "I was watching for you "all the day in that town, and I could not "get place to spake, and then I came to "watch you here; come in, with the baste "behind the wall, where nobody can see "me."

Ormsby went with her, and as soon as the wall screened them from the road, the old woman fell on her knees, and implored him to follow the advice she would give him, without asking any question about her motives. "The blessing of an ould woman go "in your road, and for the sake of them that's "far away, and that loves you well, do what "I bid you."—"And what is it that is so "difficult to be done that you think it "necessary to pray for so earnestly?" said Ormsby.—"It's not much at all; and "it's what you can do as aisy as you can "spake, and that's what you can do well,

"God bless you; only don't be asking me "any raisons, but do what I desire you."—"Well," said Ormsby, "let me hear it, you "shall find me reasonable." "Then," said she, "this is all I have to say: Go out on "the road again, and ride your horse quiet "and aisy along the way, and walk him on "the hard road until you come to the little "red gate under the ash tree at the begin-"ning of the wood; and then turn him off "into the green grass at the side of the "road, and ride him well, and spare neither "whip nor spur, but ride away without ever "stopping or looking behind you, until you "come to your own ground."—"This is "certainly strange advice," said Ormsby, "why not ride on rapidly at once, or why "not ride home as I used to do? Is there "any danger to be apprehended? is my "guardian in danger; if so, I had better "ride on at once."—"There, there," said the poor woman, "you promised me that "you would be raisonable, and now you "stay talking about danger and quare ad-"vice; sure is not every thing quare now?

" is not the times gone all contreary? for the
" love of God, and for the sake of her that
" you love, and for my blessing, don't be
" staying here to talk, but do what I was bid-
" ding. Are you in danger, and Mr. G—?
" to be sure he is, every one is in danger,
" and you so stubborn; go along, do, and
" do what I tell you. Mind when you come
" to the little red gate, get your horse on
" the sod, and ride away then as if it was
" the middle of the black night, and there
" was an evil spirit screeching after you."

Overpowered by the earnest manner of the poor woman, though quite ignorant of any advantage to be had from compliance, he promised to observe her directions. He rode along quietly, as she desired, thinking of the oddity of her commands, and of his own obedience to them. The boy who watched for him was concealed from his view, in the ditch, so that he saw nothing of alarm; nor even if he had seen him, would it have caused him suspicion. He arrived at the red gate, and as he was directed, turned the horse in on the sod, and put him to his

speed. The horse, a fine spirited animal, sprung forward, and increasing gradually to his full speed, was soon to be seen carrying off Ormsby at a most furious rate. The people as he passed lifted up their hands and eyes, astonished at the rapidity with which a single horseman was riding on the road, and would have supposed that the horse was running away with his rider, but for the appearance of composure and command which Ormsby retained. The murderers were disappointed; Ormsby had passed the stream long before they reached it, and they could only see, at a considerable distance from them, the horse flying along at a most furious rate, and far beyond their reach. Their first notion was, that they had been betrayed by some of their spies; but when they saw him, so far out of their power, with unabated speed pursuing his way, they imagined that he was violently carried away by the horse which he was unable to rein in, and which had thus accidentally brought him out of danger. After gazing for some time in the

direction where Ormsby had now disappeared, they turned and looked on each other in silence, and (strange as it may appear) these men who had assembled to perpetrate the crime of murder, and whose lives were familiar with such crimes, on the very spot where they had hoped to take away a life, now knelt down and crossing themselves several times, with great appearance of devotion, repeated some prayers in Irish, and two of them, as they arose, uttered the most deadly imprecations against their souls if ever they attempted Ormsby's life again. "This is the third time he got away from "us, and we sure of him, and may" (here followed a most shocking imprecation) "if "ever I try him the fourth." The leader interrupted any further conversation by desiring that they should retire back again to the hut, and consider there what was next to be done. It might not be prudent, they thought, to remain any longer near the skirt of the wood. There had been a place appointed for this night, where the murderers were to meet another party of disturbers,

and to give an account of their proceedings. It was somewhat mortifying to them to be compelled to recount their discomfiture; but, however, they must go, and as some suspicion might be excited by their going together, most of them being notorious characters, they resolved to separate, and hoped that they would attract less attention when they went by different roads, and each man alone. The place of meeting was ten miles from the wood, and, as evening was now coming on, they set out at once, and by different roads, or rather by different ways, for they all shunned the roads, crossing themselves whenever they recollected Ormsby's miraculous deliverance.

Meantime he had, at the same fiery speed, reached the hill which overlooked his guardian's house. He looked anxiously towards it, expecting that he should see flames bursting out through the roof and windows, or the lawn covered with armed men endeavouring to take it by storm. All, however, was perfectly still; smoke was quietly ascending from the chimney, and the sheep

were composedly browsing before the door. Agreeably disappointed by the calm aspect of the house and lawn, and perfectly satisfied now, for he could distinguish Mr. G——'s form on horseback, as he was overlooking his workmen at some distance behind the house, he slackened his speed, and endeavoured to bring in the horse in a state something cooler than that into which his exertions had put him. "Every foolish old woman, said "he to himself, makes me her dupe or her "scoff—there must be, in my nature, some-"thing of a very unusual credulity, that I "can be thus imposed on." It did not much increase his good humour to learn, that Mr. Hewson was expected at dinner, but he hoped, as nobody but the servant had seen the condition in which he had brought home the horse, that he should be spared all explanations, and he was resolved to conceal the whole transaction in which he conceived himself to have acted so foolish a part.

After dinner, during which he had regained his good humour, (as Mr. Hewson spared him all raillery in consideration of the ser-

vice he had performed) while he was looking out at a window in the drawing room, he saw a man standing among the trees in the adjoining shrubbery, making signals to him to come out. His first emotion was anger, imagining that this was a second mockery of the same kind with that of the morning, and he thought of sending out a servant to drive the man away; but no, said he to himself, I will be on my guard, and if this fellow has come to impose on me, let him look to the consequences. The ladies were busy in another part of the room, so that he easily went out unobserved, no one having seen the man except himself.

As he came to the door, the fellow retired a step back into the shrubbery, and beckoned Ormsby to follow; at the same time he threw off his great-coat and opened his waistcoat, as if to show that he had no arms concealed. Ormsby, who (such was the state of the country) had put a pistol into his pocket, advanced to him. He was a man above the middle height, and of a very

athletic figure, but of a most forbidding countenance. His eyes were deep sunk in their sockets, under shaggy red eye-brows, his nose almost flat, and with very wide nostrils, which dilated still more savagely while he spoke. His colour was of that kind of clayey or livid paleness which we so properly consider the colour of malice and envy. "Am I safe?" said he, as Ormsby approached him; "That will depend on your "business; if you speak truth, I will insure "you against harm here; but if you have "come with an intention of deceiving me, "look to it yourself." "Very well," said he, "that will do." There was silence for a few seconds; and he resumed—"There is "not a man in the county ought to be "fonder of his horse than your own four "bones. It's he that's the good horse." "He is," said Ormsby; "but was it to tell "me this you brought me out of the house? "do you think it was necessary for me to "learn his merits from you?" "May be," said the man, looking fixedly in Ormsby's

face, "may be I know more about him than "you think." Ormsby now felt greatly surprized, and began to think that he might have escaped some danger by the old woman's caution; though, perhaps, he thought, this man might have had some knowledge of the morning's occurrence, and expected to make advantage of it. Provoked as this suggestion crossed his mind, he was on the point of giving an angry expression to his feelings, but discretion came to his aid, and he said, "Do you mean to tell me, that you "know my horse ran away with me to-day?" "And, if I did, I'd know, that it was the "luckiest run away that ever you had; and "if you did not come home in that way, "'tis upon a door, you'd be brought, with "more leaden bullets in your body than you "have buttons on that coat." Having made this commencement of his intelligence, the man proceeded to detail the circumstances which had taken place in the wood. He had been one of the assassins; but, on separating from his associates, imagining their cause a lost one, he came to a resolution to

betray them *; and was now here to engage Ormsby in his interest, that, on condition of his becoming an approver, and causing a party to be surprized on this night, he was to have pardon for his own offences. Ormsby said, he could not undertake to make any promise, as he possessed no power; but he would go in to Mr. Hewson and Mr. G——, and make them the proposition; if they agreed to it, that is, if they agreed to intercede with government for his pardon, he would bring them out to speak with him; if not, he would give him notice of their refusal, and allow him to make his escape. "Oh!" said he, "if Mr. Hewson will promise, he can get my pardon surely; and I'll surrender to him at once."

The two gentlemen listened to Ormsby's story with great surprize and attention. He concealed the name of the old woman, because he did not think it right to involve the

* The reader will judge, if he be acquainted with the state of Ireland, that this incident of the approver was more suitable to the character of the people two years since than it is at present.

poor creature in any difficulty, but he related all the circumstances which had taken place. "This is not a time," said Mr. Hewson, when Ormsby had ended, "that we can "afford to be scrupulous, we must endeavour to procure information by all "means in our power; so you may bring "the fellow in, and tell him, that I agree to "his proposal." "I think, Sir," said Ormsby, "it might be more advisable to go out to "him, than to be exposed to the accident "of servants seeing him here." "Very "right, I wonder that did not strike me! if "they find the parlour empty, they will "think that we are gone to walk about the "lawn." As they came out, Ormsby thought it proper to go a little before Mr. Hewson, to let the fellow know that his proposal was accepted. He found him with his shoes off, and an expression of distrust in his countenance. He had provided himself with a stone in each hand, as if to make battle, if any attempt was made to arrest him. He recovered his confidence when Ormsby came up to him alone, and threw the stones away;

and when Mr. Hewson advanced into the shrubbery, he gave a clear and full statement of the information he had to communicate, and of the place where the party were to be surprized that night.

A council was held on the spot, to determine what was most proper to be done under the circumstances. After some time, they resolved on sending orders to different bodies of police stationed in the neighbourhood, to send a few men from each party to a place which was at about four miles distant from that in which the disturbers were to meet. The police were ordered to be at their post at ten o'clock in the night, and Mr. Hewson and Ormsby rode there accompanied by their informer, and by two gentlemen of the neighbourhood, to whom they were able to give a secret intimation of the business on which they were going. Their orders had been punctually complied with; they found a party, amounting to twenty, of the police, assembled in a waste house belonging to Mr. Hewson, and on a part of his property which was very thinly inhabited. As the gen-

tlemen came into the house, some of the party within expressed themselves much surprised at the coming of the informer, whom they thought to be a prisoner. "So, Mr. Dono-" van," said one of them, "we are getting " you among us again. You may be sure we'll " give you better treatment, and behave to " you with more ceremony than we did when " you took your lave of us before." "Thank " ye kindly for that same," says Donovan, " but I don't mane to part ye as I did: No, I " intend to stay with ye all along now; and " I'm the boy that knows how to take my " lave decent. Arn't I, now; and how is " your teeth that I knock'd out? Hadn't ye " me quite safe and snug with the hand-" cuffs; hadn't ye, honey? but ye didn't " know that my wrists was bigger than my " hands, and I'll engage I soon had the iron " things as aisy as any lady's muff, and I " could slip my hands out and in just as I " liked. I can't but laugh when I think " how b—y quare you looked, when I gave " you the clink in the teeth with the irons; " and how you put up your hands to your

" mouth and drop'd your gun; but I didn't " stay to take it up though; and when I " looked down from the wall, and saw you " reeling about and sprawling on your back, " I was hardly able to stir with laughing; " until I saw 'em taking aim at me, and " then, I'll be bail, I was sober enough, and " off I went, and 'tis I that didn't stop nor stay, " but run like the wind. I'll engage now " you couldn't pick a bone well the day " after.—Oh! blood and fire, man! don't " be in a passion, and the fore teeth of " him all out; well, these handcuffs is the " devil! Surely, if ever I'm a great man " among ye, and that I hope I will be before " long, I'll make a man of you; a serjeant " you shall surely be, for taking such good " care of me; and never fear but I'll know " you.—Oh, never fear that, I'll never for- " get ould friends; more by token, when my " mark is on 'em." " Gentlemen," says the policeman, lisping through his dismantled gums, " this is the most notorious " offender in the whole country, and he " escaped from us when we were bringing

" him to gaol on the last fair day."—" Oh!
" then blood an ages, man, how can you be
" backbiting a man this way, an he to the
" fore. Isn't it a shame for you to be doing
" such a thing, and can't spake plain to the
" gentlemen; for shame, and we going to be
" such good friends?"—" Come, come," said
Mr. Hewson, " no more of this fooling, get
" yourselves ready for business.—Donovan!
" remember you conduct us well; you know
" your own life depends on it, so see that you
" are careful and honest." " Oh! never fear
" me," says Donovan, " the worst is over
" me now, and I'll go through thick and
" thin—you may order the men out now,
" for they'll be met by the time we get to
" the place." The police were accordingly put in motion, and all set off in order for the place of meeting. It was a clear grey night; there was no moon nor star, but there was that soft twilight in which objects can be distinguished almost more truly than on a brighter night. After nearly an hour, they came in sight of a steep and rather high hill, and Donovan called to the gentlemen

to alight, and give their horses to two of the men to hold, for they were near their journey's end, he said, and it was better to perform the rest on foot.—"Do you know what's "at the other side of that hill," said he, "there's a strip of land between it and the "river, and it's there the boys are met—and "the way to get at them is, for half of ye "to go round the hill at that side, and half "at the other, and ye'll catch them between "ye, for the river is too deep to get across "it; and see down there, far away, there's "a spy out, and ye must go across the field "here, and under the ditch, or else the spy "on the hill will see you, and when ye "come near him, he'll hear ye, and he'll give "an easy whistle twice, and then do ye say "'Pauthereen,' and then he'll get up on the "ditch, and do ye catch him and tie him "fast, and keep him there, with two men to "keep him from making a noise,' and then "go on to the side of the hill, and wait "there without stirring, and let the other "half of ye do the same at that side there; "and the gentlemen and I will go up the

" hill, and when they give the word of com-
" mand, do ye be ready to run in and take
" your prisoners."

All was admirably executed; the police set out to their stations, and the gentlemen, with Donovan to conduct them, began to ascend the hill; they had gone but a few paces up when they were challenged by the low whistle, and Donovan, giving the watch word, continued to ascend. They soon came up with a man lying on the side of the hill which they were climbing, and recognising Donovan, he called out to know who were his companions: " Good friends for you," said Donovan, " and they saved me from
" being sent to gaol this night."—" There
" was great cry for you at the place below,"
said the man, " and there's new orders from
" the General to night, that there's three
" gentlemen's houses to be attacked next
" week."—" Is there, honey," said Donovan,
" and there's new orders for you too, not to
" say a word for your life, as these men here
" will be after telling you." Immediately all the gentlemen seized the fellow, and pre-

sented their pistols, threatening him with death if he did not keep silence; so leaving him bound and gagged, they proceeded cautiously to the top of the hill.

At first they crept along, and just put out their heads above the brow, so that they could look down upon the meeting below them; they saw a number of persons, most of them sitting on the grass, and they could hear the hum of their voices, and sometimes distinguish even the words—the name of Donovan was frequently pronounced, and it would seem as if they were waiting for him impatiently. "Now," said Donovan, "look "out and see if the men is ready." The gentlemen went a little towards the side, and saw the police stationed at their posts, and waiting for the signal; they came back and said that all were prepared.—"Now," said he, "we'll catch them; I'll go down to "them, and when they're clustering about "me, do ye give ye're commands, and come "upon us all." The gentlemen saw him start over the hill and rush down, giving his signal, and instantly all the insurgents started

up, and raised a "Hurra for Donovan," and crowded about him, as if inquiring the cause of his delay. It was at this moment while all their faculties seemed intent on these inquiries and congratulations, that the police, at the signal of the gentlemen, started forward, and the gentlemen, at the same time, showed themselves on the hills, and the wretches, feeling themselves completely surrounded and surprised, lost all power of resistance, and were most of them apprehended; a few who had presence of mind enough to throw themselves into the river, and who knew how to swim, escaped; but all the rest, including more than thirty prisoners, were secured, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition was taken with them."*

* I now take leave of the manuscript from which I have been permitted to make so copious an extract; perhaps at some future day it may be given more fully to the public.

CHAPTER V.

TITHES.

AFTER having given the description of our Irish disorders contained in the preceding fragments, it was my intention to have proceeded directly to an investigation of the causes which have given to them such a character. There is, however, so much misrepresentation with respect to Irish affairs, that, before I can expect an impartial hearing for my own opinions, I must endeavour to set my reader right as to the opinions of other men.

A book has just appeared, entitled, "Memoirs of Captain Rock," which I think likely to have more circulation, and, in consequence, to be more extensively mischievous than any modern political publication. It is an animated, and I have no doubt a brilliant production; but read, as I read it, in a solitary house, standing in a wooded valley, which, according to the state of the imagination, may be

regarded as a murderous retreat, or a sweet romantic seclusion, and on a night when I was twice startled by the violent rushing of men across my lawn, and when I saw their ravages in the flames of two burning cabins at no great distance before me, it is no wonder if I was a little alive to the charms of wit and eloquence, and if only a heavy sense remained on my mind of the mischief which this dangerous production is calculated to effect. But, upon reflection, I have been convinced that to dread such mischief, presupposes a great and general ignorance of Irish affairs; and, if I were not conscious that plain truth, in homely language, must appear very dull to minds upon which the eloquent expressions of Captain Rock have been flashing, I should feel perfectly assured, that the influence which the Captain's genius has won, could not be of long continuance. Disheartening, however, as the circumstances may be, the champion of truth dares not to despair. It is my part to give a plain statement of facts as they really are, and I will trust that there is a spirit of sound judgment in the English people, which

will not suffer them to reject the truth, in whatever shape it may appear.

I pass by for the present, the history of Irish sufferings which the Memoirs detail, from the reign of Henry the Second to the period of the Union. This detail is subsidiary to the design of rendering the Irish church establishment odious, and of displaying all the cruelty of the "penal laws;" and the great bearing of the book appears to be an attempt to prove, that, without the destruction of the establishment, and a repeal of the laws by which the Roman Catholics are affected, it is vain to expect tranquillity in Ireland. I will consider both of these topics at some length; and, first,—for the establishment.

The expediency of an establishment, abstractedly considered, is a subject with which I have nothing to do. Let the church fight her own battles. As to whether the Roman Catholics of Ireland have or have not good reason to be indignant at seeing the wealth of the country possessed by people of a different religion from their

own, *let the Protestant clergy and laity* consult together, if it so please them, and give their answer. With such considerations I have no direct concern. My object is simple; to inquire whether the allegations contained in the Memoirs are true—that the riches of the Protestant church are the cause of that misery under which the Irish Roman Catholics are suffering. I am not to inquire whether Captain Rock shoots proctors and burns churches, because he *hates* the clergy; for this, let the offenders, and those who stimulate them to violence, answer to God and their own consciences; but as it is stated, that Captain Rock, or the poor tenantry whom he represents, not only hate the church, but are impoverished by it, I shall take upon me to show, by a plain statement, that, if the person who makes such an allegation is as well acquainted with the present state of the country as he is with the history of past times,—he is not an honest man.

It is now, I believe, pretty generally acknowledged, that the pressure of tithe does not bear *on the tenant*, and that, as the land-

lord came into possession of his estate subject to such a charge, he is in no other way affected by it, than by any of the incumbrances, such as mortgages or annuities, to which he has become subject. This position is clearly laid down in an article which appeared in the Quarterly Review for December last; but, as the writer of the Memoirs insists very strongly on the omission of any reference to Ireland in that article, as though it indicated a weakness in the Irish claim, I am glad, that he has himself furnished the means of proving, that the claim of the Irish church is actually stronger than that of the church of England. I believe the only point not established with perfect clearness in the article, or, as Captain Rock calls it, the ecclesiastical manifesto contained in the Review, is, the priority of the claim of tithe to the title of any lay proprietor. It was shown, I believe, very convincingly, that the claim for tithe was older, in almost every instance, than any claim which a lay proprietor could set up; but still, it was not possible to say, "at such a time titles to lay

" property were given; and, so many years " before that time, it was settled that the " tenth of the produce should be appro- " priated to a particular class of men, and " should descend according to a certain " established order." What it is difficult to settle with respect to the claims of the English clergy, Captain Rock has kindly arranged for the benefit of the Irish.

The right to tithes he dates from the reign of Henry VIII, and even states the acts of parliament out of which it arises. According to Captain Rock, therefore, the clergyman who now demands tithe, claims by a title as old as the time of Henry VIII, and which, of course, is not to be disputed by those, whose titles, being of later date, recognize the clergyman's right; *and such, we are given to understand, are the titles of all the lay landlords of Ireland.* But it is better to let Captain Rock speak for himself:—" So little was common " sense consulted, or the mere decency of " forms observed by that rapacious spirit, " which nothing less than the confiscation

" of the whole island could satisfy; and " which having, in the reign of James I. " and at the Restoration, despoiled the na- " tives of no less than ten millions six hun- " dred and thirty-six thousand eight hun- " dred and thirty-seven acres, now added " to its plunder one million sixty thousand " seven hundred and ninety-two acres more, " being the amount (according to Lord " Clare's calculation) of the whole superfi- " cial contents of the island."

If this be a fair statement, why is Captain Rock so wrathful against the clergy? The gentry, he says, have derived their titles from the most indecent spoliation; and what is it to the Captain, if an antecedent spoliation may have diminished a little the value of their possessions? I am quite at a loss to comprehend why the gallant Captain should so detest the poor churchmen, *as that he cannot (as his biographer observes) even rob them in a gentlemanlike stile.* He has found them (at least as far as my experience instructs me) equally amenable to his behests as the lay gentry; why should he not give

them an equal share of his countenance and protection? Indeed I am strongly inclined to think, but it is with great caution I venture to express such an opinion, that the honest missionary was imposed upon, and that, instead of the wild and warlike chieftain,—the impartial queller of all sons of oppression,—the unostentatious redresser of all kinds of wrong,—who retires from the notoriety which the broad day-light would fling upon him, to dwell with the innocent things that browse upon the mountains, and rushes forth in the darkness, when his actions may escape from fame, to rule unrivalled in his own domain, where he has won from the sheeted ghosts of night their terrors and their power;—I should be inclined to suppose, that, instead of that awful and impartial being, some hanger-on upon a bloated aristocrat, some creature who had forfeited the dignity of a man, that he might crawl in the livery of a nobleman, some echoer of his lord's phrases, some solitary applauder of his lord's jests, who had forgotten his own existence, except as an appurte-

nance to the great man in whose train he is found, who had lost all sense of his own rights except as they are doled out to him from above, and who, "if master desired "him to eat straw, would eat straw;"—I should imagine that some such creature as this, having stolen a plume from my lady's waiting maid, went masquerading on a summer night, that he might have a tale for his lord's table, how he had made a missionary stare, and imposed upon him the articles of an aristocrat's creed, as the genuine memoirs of the real Captain Rock.

It is indeed almost sickening to listen to the fulsome tirade, which superficial and designing men are so prompt to utter against the severity of tithe.—"What!" they say, "make the Catholics pay for the support of "Protestant clergy, and the expenses at-"tending Protestant worship?" and then they run through all the notes of commiseration for the poor oppressed cottier tenantry, as if they believed, themselves, or wished the public to believe, that the people will become contented and happy as

soon as this evil has been removed. If these gentlemen would condescend to state some important facts, the question of dispute would be greatly simplified. And, first, as they say that it is wrong to make the Catholics pay tithe, on the principle that it is taking away a part of their property to support a clergy which is not their clergy, it would seem no more than reasonable, that they should tell us *who the Roman Catholics are, whose property is so taken away.* For this purpose, they should name to us some person, *whose titles give him the possession of the entire produce of the land, and from whom the right to the tenth part of that produce has, since the date of his titles, been forcibly taken away;*—let any such person be named, and neither law nor justice can resist the obvious propriety of restoring him to his violated right. But if, in all cases where tithe is paid, they can name none but persons whose titles give them no exemption from such a demand; if the clergyman's right is established by the acts of Henry VIII; and if the grants made

in subsequent reigns do not supersede it, then how is the question to be stated as between the church and the people? This is the case with respect (let us say) to the oldest titles now existing. James I. granted to a lay proprietor, nine-tenths of the issues arising out of some forfeited estate; the remaining tenth he did *not* grant, *because it had not been forfeited*; and so far have the clergy been from incroaching on the layman's possessions, that they have, generally, conceded to him a large portion of their own. It is not long since a very litigious man waited on a friend of mine, (an old gentleman who still retains the primitive simplicity of past days,) in order to adjust some business relative to the rent of a farm which he held under him. He complained bitterly that the rent was excessive, and that he must be ruined if it were not considerably lowered. "We shall see," said the old gentleman, "what reason you "have to complain—Is this account be-"tween us correct?" The litigious tenant inspected the books, and declared all right.

And what was the state of the account It was this—the tenant was indebted for the rent *of five successive years*, and there appeared in the books *but one item in his favour*, which I copy for the reader's perusal.

Per Contra - - - - - Cr.

By *abatement* granted for the years 1821 and 1822 - } £.100 - -

There is not, I believe, a landlord in Ireland, who has not been a great gainer by the tithe system; for, in order to convey to a proprietor the benefit of nine hundred acres, the government, reserving the tenth of all produce for the church, made a grant of one thousand; and of their tenth, the clergy, by an act of the legislature, have been deprived of one part, and by their own moderation, or in consequence of the difficulty of collecting it, they have conceded another, so that it is not going too far to affirm, that the landlords provide by 20 acres for the claims which the government granted them one hundred to discharge, *and thus are indebted to the tithe system for the remaining*

eighty*; and yet they cry out, that the demand for tithe is an infringement upon their rights. When such clamours are raised, Foigard's complaint seems no longer unreasonable, "He has taken away a hundred "pounds of mine."—"Of your's?"—"Yes! "money I owed him." The question is not, why a Protestant monarch took away from his Roman Catholic subjects, *one*-tenth of a property which was his, but why he granted him *nine-tenths* of a property which was *not* his?

Aye! but says Captain Rock, the monarch who made grants of the properties now held, had no just authority to make them. It was granting, not what was his by right, but what he made his own by the most scandalous rapacity and spoliation!!!—There is not in Ireland a person who will be happier to give weight to this declaration, than the writer of these pages. Let it be established and

* I state these proportions loosely, because I intend them only as illustrations of my argument. The clergy were entitled to the tenth of the produce, which included the tenth of labour, profits, &c.

acted upon, and I at least shall have no reason to complain; and although I could be well satisfied with resting at the reign of James I. yet I see no reason why we should not lay down a nobler principle, and restore to the rightful owner, *all lands, whenever granted, to which the title was founded in injustice.* I will make a fair bargain with the Captain—no purchase, no pay. If he will engage to establish me *in only one of my rights,* I will engage to pay him, on the day when I take quiet possession of my estate, five thousand pounds of good coined money, such as no christian can refuse; and I will undertake, previously, to satisfy the Captain, that my claim is unquestionable. The lands of which I am now most anxious to possess myself, are, for the present, in the possession of the most noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, who is an absentee; and as I will bind myself to reside, I trust that the Captain, who has the interest of his country at heart, will show himself more than ordinarily zealous to enforce my demands.—More on this subject,

by-and-bye.—I may dismiss the charge of cruelty for making Catholic *landlords* pay tithe, by asserting, that they cannot maintain it, without denying the right of James and his successors to make grants of lands, and thus invalidating their own titles. I proceed now to the case of the tenantry.

For the sake of simplicity, I will suppose the entire tenantry of Ireland divided into two great classes:—The middle-men, who have taken ground for the purpose of re-letting it, and the cottier tenantry who hold under them. The middle-men are not so important or so numerous a class as they were. Gentlemen farmers are beginning to feel the advantage of keeping the ground in their own hands; but still they are, most of them, in a certain degree, middle-men, and sufficiently so, to justify the division I have made.

It is said that the poor classes in Ireland are improvident; that when they make proposals for land, they do not take into consideration what they must pay as tithe; and it is implied, I suppose, (for the argument requires such a postulate) *that the gentry*

avail themselves of the poor man's ignorance, in order to increase the rent. No such assertion can be made with respect to the case of middle-men. They all very well know what charges the land is subject to, beside the rent; they make allowance for the contingent expences that come under the denomination of county-charges, for the more unvarying amount of the church-rates. They know that the landlord has no property in tithes, or else, that he is a lay impropriator; and they offer such a rent as they think themselves able to pay, in addition to these several charges. Why then, for their sakes, should the tithe be abolished? If the *rents* are too high, let them be lowered; and if they are not too high, the middle-man needs no relief.

There was a time, certainly, when there existed some seeming ground of complaint against the church. It was at the time when the prices of agricultural produce had experienced such a sudden depreciation, and when the rent and tithe were still kept up to their former level. The clergyman, no

doubt, had a better case than the landlord. He might have said, with truth, in most instances, that he had taken but little advantage of the war prices; that he had not, during the war, charged more than the thirtieth, and that, not having laid up any store for the time of want, it was not to be expected, (nor could he afford it) that he should still content himself with the same small proportion of the produce. "If the "prices of all necessaries," he might say, "had fallen, as well as those of agricultural "produce, then the expences of living would "be so reduced, that I could afford to bear "a great diminution in my income; but, as "many articles of necessary consumption "remain just as they were in price, it is not "reasonable to expect, that I should so "reduce my income as to occasion a very "great alteration in my manner of living. "If I exceed what law and justice warrant "me in demanding, the law gives a remedy; "but while I confine myself within the "limits so assigned, I do not think that I "am deserving of blame." The case of the

landlord was evidently weaker than this; because, having exacted the *full value* of his land during the war-time, equity, perhaps, called upon him, not to insist on *more than the value*, when it had considerably declined.

Still, however, the middle-man might have complained to the tithe-holder, that he had taken his land on an understanding, that he was not to pay the full proportion of a tenth, and that the clergyman might be considered, as in some sort, a party to the agreement, as he knew the understanding that prevailed, and did not interfere to remove it. "I conditioned," he might say, "to pay a rent, "not reserving for you a tenth part of the "produce, but such a portion as you had "been in the habit of accepting in lieu of "it; and I consider you, in conscience, "bound to abide by the bargain I made, "and to which you tacitly consented." Arguments of this kind I stated to a clergyman with whom I had to transact some business, and he admitted their justice; "but," said

he, " observe how I am circumstanced—Yes-
" terday, Lord ——'s agent called on me to
" say, that he had been directed to intimate
" a desire, on the part of his lordship, that
" I should lower my demand for tithes, or
" else prepare myself to expect every oppo-
" sition in collecting them. I told him, that
" I had experienced so much of his lord-
" ship's opposition, as that it had lost all
" terrors for me; but that I was most willing
" to make any practicable sacrifice for the
" poor tenants, *provided I had reason to*
" *believe, that they should enjoy the benefit*
" *of it.* It will be of no advantage to them,"
I added, " that I should reduce my demand,
" so long as the rent is kept up to its pre-
" sent (or any thing like its present) rate;
" and you may say to Lord ——, with my
" respectful compliments, *that I am willing to*
" *unite with him in relieving* HIS TENANTRY;
" and that, although the law entitles me to
" much more than my present claims, I will
" reduce my demands *in the same propor-*
" *tion as his Lordship consents to reduce his*

" *rents*, even though the reduction should " make my income less by one-half than it " is at present."

I could not dispute the fairness of this statement; I saw how little reason there was to expect that the people would be permitted the benefit by any concessions which the clergy might be disposed to make in their favour; I saw that they had not been served by the moderation with which the tithe-holders, in my part of the country, had uniformly conducted themselves, demanding a thirtieth where they might have exacted a tenth; and that it was not the tenant who had the advantage of this moderation, in added comforts, but the landlord in an increased rent; and I saw no reason to imagine, that any concessions they might now make would be attended with better results; and that, in consequence, it would be folly in the clergy to impoverish themselves until they saw the landlords evincing some anxiety about their wretched tenantry, and reducing their rents to something like the standard of present prices.

Whether it be owing to prudent consideration, or to some other cause not equally creditable, both landlords and clergy have come to an understanding with the people, which prevents the burden of either rent or tithes from pressing upon a wretched tenantry with the intolerable severity of the past years. Suppose, then, all the middlemen to hold their lands at a fair rent, such a rent as allows them a reasonable profit on the part they cultivate themselves, and a just factorage on that part which they have let to under tenants. To this much they are entitled, and if they have it not (in consequence not of their own misconduct or misfortune), the rent is excessive and ought to be lowered. Suppose them then to possess so much, and imagine the revenues of a dilapidated church establishment distributed amongst them, what is the consequence? it is, that such of them as have fixed leases, and have been in the habit of paying up their entire rent, will have the benefit of the church revenues until the expiration of their leases; and then such

benefits will be transferred to the proprietor of the soil. But with respect to all tenants who are in arrear, in consequence of exorbitant rents, the demolition of the establishment will be nugatory, for they must at once transfer to the landlord the amount of their gains; and thus, upon the tenantry, as far as it consists of middle men, the effect of abolishing tithes would be, that wealth would be added to those who need no relief, and that those who are in necessity should remain in their present distress.

Let us turn to the condition of the cottier tenant. The church establishment, the great Sejanus, has fallen! Bid them "shout, for "the pride of the tyrant is broken!" Call them to pluck off the fruits, for the tree has been cut down, and the establishment is exposed to every spoiler. No more tithe of potatoe! no further annoyance about church-rates! no more proctors or churchwardens! the plenty of the golden age is restored, and you may sit, if not beneath your own vine and your own fig-tree, at least on some sunny bank of your potatoe gar-

den, and bless Captain Rock and his kind-hearted missionary friend, who have bestowed upon you such abundance; I hope you may enjoy it long. Come, show your lease; let us see what term you have. What have we here—three pound five an acre? Oh! you don't pay so much, do you? What's that you say man? you are to pay as much as you can make of the ground, and you are indulged for what it will not make! Ah, my poor fellow! I'm afraid that Captain Rock has been labouring to no purpose; and that, as he says of the Irish government, working always in a manner contrary to what it ought, he has been only adding wealth to what was rich before, and depriving you of a friend, who would be much more likely to relieve you in your wants, than the rich landlord, who spends in foreign parts the income which, but for the Captain's missionary labours, would have been spent in your neighbourhood.*

* I do not mean to say, that many cottier tenants do not hold leases at lower rents than three pounds five shillings an acre. Many, very many, pay (or rather

It is difficult to reason seriously with a man, who expects that the destruction of the church establishment can bring any permanent relief to the cottier tenants. To such of them as have no leases or engagements, it is evident, that there can be at best but one year's gain, if even so much; for, next year, it will be added to the rent, and to those who hold under leases, it will be equally unavailing, because the rent they have stipulated to pay, is so generally above what the ground is capable of yielding, that scarcely any landlord expects to receive it. In several instances, when prices declined, the landlords granted (after a reasonable delay) a certain abatement; but as this has been inadequate to the continued decline of prices, and as the landlords have some hope, that times more favourable to the farmer may arrive,

promise to pay) more. My argument requires no more than this, that their rent, whatever it is, is nominally higher than what they pay; and this is so well known a truth, that I do not know a single landlord who expects his entire rent; and that it is spoken of as an extraordinary circumstance whenever the full rent is paid.

they have thought it advisable to keep the rent nominally excessive, but have entered into an understanding with the tenant, that they require of him no more than the ground is capable of yielding. Hence, it is clear, that every indulgence granted to the tenant, becomes eventually his landlord's advantage; that he is, in fact, nothing more than an instrument for converting soil into rent, and that all privileges and immunities bestowed upon him, only enable him to do this more effectually.

The same kind of reasoning will apply to the church-rates. I am not attempting, in any respect, to confound them with property in tithe. I am viewing them only as they affect the agricultural interest, and upon this they can never have any injurious influence, except where the farmer has miscalculated, and the tithe or the tax exceeds the provisions he had made for it. It is evident, that the miscalculations with respect to tithe, when the farmer is injured by them, are owing much more to the uniform lenity of the clergy, than to some rare instances of their

severity. If a man, in proposing a rent for ground, allow, as a provision for paying tithe, a sum considerably lower than that which is exacted from him, *it is evident, that he must have calculated considerably under the value of the tithe*; for, if the clergyman exceed this, the tithe-payer can have his redress; and it is also evident, that he would not have so miscalculated, had he not been led astray by the *general moderation of the clergy*. If it were the custom to demand the full value, no one would miscalculate; but, I allow, that in consequence of the concessions which the clergy are in the habit of making, a man may, by a change of incumbents, be constrained to pay something more than he had calculated on paying. I allow the full force of this objection. It is one which has arisen out of the general moderation of the clergyman's demand; and let all those who, imitating Captain Rock, suffer their animosity to the church to swallow up their feelings as gentlemen, urge against the rights of the church, an argument derived from its benevolence.

Captain Rock is very vehement against the church-rates, and maintains that they ought to be discontinued, and the expences for which they make provision, borne by the board of first-fruits. If the bishops and clergy ought to pay so largely as the Captain states, I most sincerely wish that they may be compelled to do their duty; but it is no part of my business to inquire into the nature of their obligations. I am not to lift my eyes from the interests of the soil, however violent the language of Captain Rock may be, and how ardently soever I may feel upon the subject. There is certainly a great pomp of figures in the charge against the bishops, (I mean figures of arithmetic); and when the reader sees hundreds of thousands flitting in crowds before him, his mind becomes excited, and if he stoop from these infinitessimals to the details of a parish vestry, he imagines for a moment, that the peasantry must of course be ruined, by being made, as it were, a kind of scapegoat for episcopal defalcations.

But it is only for a moment he can entertain any such notion. I showed before, that

the mere peasantry are in no wise concerned about the matter; that the middle-men are concerned only so far *as they have injured themselves by a miscalculation*; and it is not easy to conceive a miscalculation as to the amount of church-rates ruinous, when it is found (so far at least as my experience goes) that the average rate assessed by parish vestries, does not exceed fourpence annually on the Irish acre. But we shall have, I dare say, full information on this point in the Parliamentary Reports. It is scarcely necessary to comment on a falsehood in which Captain Rock indulges himself on the subject of vestries. He will not, the missionary tells us, be a gentleman in speaking of the church, and so, if a lie will serve his purpose—well,—he says, that Roman Catholics cannot attend at vestries. This is not the truth; Roman Catholics can attend* at confirmation of the cess, and

* I mention this privilege of Roman Catholics, because the missionary gives a statement of certain illegal charges made at vestries; against which there was an opportunity of objecting afforded to Roman Catholics as well as Protestants.

object against any illegality—and if their objection be valid, it vitiates the proceedings of the vestry.

I trust that I may consider myself as having shown, that the abolition of tithe would serve no class of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, except the proprietors of the soil, and such middle men as are in no want of the relief which is to be obtained through the interference of the law. But there is a mode of employing tithe which is frequently insinuated, and which it becomes expedient to consider. We may not only *deprive the clergy of the church of Ireland of their right, but we may transfer it to the clergy of the church of Rome.* The same persons who speak of the severity of the tithe system, descant also upon the grievous tax, which the supporting his own clergy imposes on the poor peasant. Need I again go through the form of showing, that the peasantry bear no share *even of this burden.* The peasantry have no property—their landlords will not permit them to have any. Like the frog in the fable, let them swell until they burst, and still they will be found not to

have dilated beyond their rents—these rents are a kind of magical circle—a kind of prison—the tenants are so many confined insolvent debtors, and if some unlooked for combination of circumstances should seem to set a poor wretch free, and he is ready to escape from pauperism, even then he may find some old standing arrear coming against him, as it were a gaoler's fee, and remanding him to his confinement. "I do not keep "my sheep for show," said a gentleman to me a few days since, "my principle is, that "those are the best cattle that pay best for "their feeding." I need not say, that few Irish landlords keep their tenants for show—their principle is with men as well as with cattle—those are most to be encouraged, who, from a given space of ground, return most rent, and they would think it just as unnatural to let a tenant save and hoard, as they would to leave their sheep for two years unshorn. In fact, the sheep are as much sufferers by the brambles which rob them of a little of that fleece of which, in a few days, they must lay down the entire; as the

peasantry are, by those occasional charges, which only anticipate by a short time the demands of the landlord. It is not long since a shrove tide passed over without a single wedding among Lord ——'s numerous tenantry, because they were afraid that his lordship would suspect that *where there were weddings, there was money*, and would act accordingly; and it was but the other day a gentleman told me gravely, that he paid five hundred a year for the service of God's ministers, and explained himself, by stating the amount of what his tenants paid in tithes to the rector, and what they paid for the various religious rites to the priest of the parish.

We cannot, therefore, consider the burden of supporting even his own clergy as falling on the poor peasant; his landlord will be careful to keep him stationary in wretchedness, whatever changes may take place. And beside, I greatly doubt, whether the transfer of tithe to the clergy of the church of Rome, would in any degree lighten the burden which that church lays upon its votaries. It

should be borne in mind, that, in the church of Rome, there are not only the established parochial ministers, to whom the tithe should be transferred, *but also many and various mendicant orders, to whose numbers I know not whether there be any limitation.* As soon as the burden of supporting the parochial clergy was taken off (or rather seemingly taken off) the people, these mendicants would, in all probability, begin very rapidly to increase. If the parish ministers grew indolent, the mendicants would supply their places, and if, by their riches, they became estranged from the peasantry, these mendicants would gain the confidence, and assert the influence which the wealthier ministers had lost, and thus, in all probability, the land, or the consumer, would be maintaining two classes of ministers in the church of Rome, the parochial clergy in the form of tithes, and the mendicants by voluntary offerings; and the clergy of the church of England should still have a provision made for them, by some new impost to be levied off the wealth of the country.

CHAPTER VI.

TITHE VEXATIONS.

IN the preceding chapter, I did not consider a charge made by Captain Rock, against tithe, as an impost *odious* to the people. He informs us, that, independantly of its severity, it is a tax which the people look upon as peculiarly distasteful; and that of course it ought to be abolished. The hatred which the people feel towards the tithe system, the Captain illustrates by two facts; one is, that they will pay ten shillings an acre more for land which is tithe free, than for land which is not thus exempted; and the second, that giving tithe in kind, which in England is looked upon as an injury to the farmer, is regarded in Ireland, as a very advantageous mode of meeting the clergyman's demand.

The first fact we have, not on Captain's Rock's authority, but on that of a very

able pamphlet, attributed to a distinguished Irish bishop, and quoted by him from a speech of Lord Maryborough's, in the House of Commons: "I asked," said his lordship, "an honourable friend of mine "this morning, a part of whose estate is "tithe free, what was the difference of the "rent he received for his land that was "tithe free, and that which was not? He "told me, he received ten shillings an acre "more for the land that was tithe free than "he did for the other. I then asked him, "what was the amount of the tithe on that "part of his land of equal quality and con-"tiguous to the other, which was subject to "it? He said about fourteen-pence an "acre;" and from this Captain Rock reasons, "that the farmer willingly paid 8*s.* 10*d.* "in the form of rent, to escape 1*s.* 2*d.* in "the hateful form of tithe." I sometime since saw reasoning of this kind in a pamphlet, bearing the signature, "E. Barton," and I did not at all wonder, that it should appear in *his* writings, as I am told, he is not much conversant with country business,

and so might misunderstand the matter; and I ought not to wonder at the Captain's statement, as he is, professedly, not bound by the laws of honour in his opposition to the church; and perhaps the missionary thinks with Ralpho in Hudibras, that if the Devil sometimes may speak truth, it would be hard, if a saint were not allowed the privilege of a little lying, especially for the purpose of maligning the church establishment. The fact is, that Lord Maryborough's statement, although perfectly intelligible to those who understand country business, requires a little explanation, for those who do not.

I trust the reader will forgive me for coming to this explanation in my own way, as I have two purposes to answer. One is, to let the missionary know, that I am well acquainted with Captain Rock's movements, and the other is, to show the world, how easily the missionary might have learned the meaning of Lord Maryborough's statement.

According to my information then, it is

true, that the missionary *did* find himself in the unpleasant company, that he mentions, near a celebrated ruin on the banks of the Suir. It is also true, that he was not the only gentleman who was, on that night, in the same predicament; but that, just at the time when the missionary found himself so disagreeably surrounded, a gentleman of great and deserved popularity, was standing near him, or, as my informant supposed, walking with him, there is only one part of his statement incorrect, viz. that where he speaks of his terror; on the contrary, my information states, that he bore himself bravely,—"like a little lion," said my informant, and added, "they may call him a "swaddler, but devil a bit of it is in his "looks, and as purty a coat on him as the "best lord in the land, and stood up like "a man, and held up his head, and put his "spy-glass up to his eye, just for all the "world like any real jauntleman." This occurrence took place, at a distance of many, very many miles from me, and yet, as I had intelligence of no similar meeting,

I am convinced that the missionary will give me credit for the accuracy of my information.

It was rather an odd coincidence, that the land upon which the missionary was standing, and the fields which he might see at the other side of the river, afforded a practical (I was going to say a living) explanation of Lord Maryborough's expression. The proprietor of the land at the distant side of the river had come into an engagement with the rector of the parish, according to which the tenants were to pay for all the ground, tillage and pasturage, at the rate of three shillings and nine-pence the acre. This appears a high charge in a country where tithes are moderate, but it was so in consequence of the great quantity of land in tillage. Now, at the same time, on the farm in which the missionary was standing, there was meadowing, which the owner of the farm sold in separate acres before it was mown; and to the purchasers he said—"I charge "you ten guineas an acre for the meadow, "if *I* pay the tithes; and nine guineas and

"a half if *you* pay them; because the charge "for tithe of meadowing is half a guinea "an acre." *

This at once explains Lord Maryborough's meaning. If a man set an entire farm, containing pasturage and tillage, tithe-free, he will charge such an additional rent as would equal the value of the tithe, and which, in the parish to which the noble Lord alluded, would not, perhaps, have much exceeded the sum of fourteen-pence an acre; but if (as in the case of the con-acre) the landlord let a part of his lands for a single crop, and for a crop which was titheable, then he would add ten shillings to the acreable rent, because so much would be necessary to meet the expense of tithe. Such is and such must be the meaning of Lord Maryborough's words. In one case, a gentleman spoke of

* To avoid any rash imputation against the missionary's sincerity, I ought to add, that I am not quite decided, whether this arrangement about the meadowing took place in the same year with the missionary's visit; but the clergyman whom he had been visiting could have given him every necessary information.

land of which the entire produce was titheable, and in the other of land, where the charge, to which a part of the farm was subject, became distributed over a greater surface, and of course, pressed less heavily, just according to the principle of the tithe composition bill. I have myself some land not subject to tithe, and two of my neighbours have some also, and from their practice and my own, and the practice of every person I know, I can state positively, that I have given a fair explanation of Lord Maryborough's words; and, indeed, however great might be the people's hatred of tithe, they would not pay 8*s.* 10*d.* additional to avoid the odious tax, or to spite the clergyman and tithe proctor. They are much wiser than they were, when, in order to ruin an Orange banker, they came to the resolution of burning his notes wherever they found them.

The next proof of the hatred to the tithe system, is that which is afforded in the desire of the farming classes to pay their tithe in kind. "To be allowed the free exercise of

" this right of paying in kind (which, though " the law permits, the ecclesiastical courts " obstruct and frustrate) is, at present, next " to the supreme bliss of not paying any " such tax at all—the chief ambition of the " great majority of tithe-payers."—This indicates, truly, an extraordinary state of things. I have already shown, that the whole burthen of tithes and taxes, of every thing, in short, affecting the ground, is borne by the landlords. According to the Captain, this burden is illegally increased by the rapacity of the churchmen; and yet, in a country, where the laity are not in very extreme subjection to the church, in a country where Mr. O'Connell is a land proprietor, where the Hon. Pierce Butler and Lord Glengall reside, a country in which the author of the " Penal Laws" has a very extensive property, and a very numerous, and to his credit be it spoken, a very prospering tenantry, and in a country where the courts of law, into which appeals on tithe cases might be transferred, are confessedly so unspotted, yet, in such a country, and in the

nineteenth century, the clergy are allowed to reap the fruits of their fraud and rapacity, unopposed, except as far as the summary justice of the impartial Captain Rock reduces them to reason. This is, indeed, a strange doctrine to promulgate; but we must always bear in mind, that, upon church topics, the Captain is not a gentleman.

A better order of things has arrived—measures are taken by which the clergy can be compelled to receive their tithes in kind. Hear the gallant Captain. "On this very "subject of setting out the tithe in kind, "such a charitable feeling is there abroad "towards the church, that some persons of "considerable legal acuteness, have taken "the trouble of drawing up a code of instructions for the peasantry, by which they may, without disturbing a single curl of the law, combine against the parson, "'sans que cela paraisse,' and make the "collection of tithes in this way almost as "harrassing to *him*, as his own favourite "mode of enforcing it has always been to "*them*."

The missionary, or the Captain adds, in a note, "See some very clever letters to this "effect, which appeared last summer in the "Southern Reporter, and which well deserve "to be collected." I have seen the letters alluded to; they are distinct and particular in their details and instructions. They are, if report speak the truth, the production of an enlightened and experienced farmer in in the county of Tipperary; and so satisfied was this gentleman, *that the giving tithe in kind was adviseable in only certain extreme cases*, that he was, in some vestries under the Tithe Composition Act, *a most powerful and zealous advocate for the measure*, which, by his influence with the people, an influence which he derived from his integrity and his talents, he carried, in the face of all the opposition that could be raised against him by landlords who were dissatisfied with the bill. Captain Rock, I suppose unintentionally, instructs us in the reasons why the clergy may be found obstructing the efforts of the farmer to give his tithe in kind. The instructions which the gentlemen of legal

acuteness have given, are not merely instructions *to give*, but instructions *to combine*. The law forbids combination, because the parishioners, by conspiring together, might be able to defraud the tithe-owner, and I dare say it would be found that, in most of the cases where the ecclesiastical court decided against the parishioner, and in which its decisions were not overruled by any superior court, its judgment was founded upon some discovered attempt to elude the law, or on some open violation of it. The clergyman resisted (not the fair intention of the parishioner to set out his tithes, but) the attempt to overreach him by some fraud, or embarrass him by extensive combination. If it were not so, why should he refuse to draw? Read the petitions to Parliament, complaining of the severity of tithe charges, and (with the exception of one county in the south) I will venture to say, that the charges do not exceed thirteen shillings an Irish acre. I could state twenty parishes in which the tithe does not, at the highest, exceed eight shillings an acre for wheat and

potatoes; and I *know* of none, where it amounts to twelve. And this proportion is observed for other sorts of produce. Now, supposing the average produce of an acre of wheat to be seven barrels and a half, (this was the average according to Arthur Young, at the period of 1788, and is, I am of opinion, the average at the present day in the south;) and allowing thirty shillings a barrel as a fair price, the full market price of the tithe would be 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; the straw would be sufficient remuneration for the expences of drawing home and preparing for market, and twenty-pence a barrel, ample allowance, for all costs attending the sale; so that the clergyman, who, for *the most valuable crop*, does not *charge* more than eight shillings, shall receive, if he *draw* the tithe of *an average crop*, twenty-one. What, then, can make it the interest of the parson to receive the tithe in money? Either the agency of a combination by which he is very much embarrassed, or, (what is much more likely) the prohibition of Captain Rock, exhibited in blood, as a warning to all audacious parsons.

One case which came to my knowledge last year, when prices were low, will serve to make the moderation of the *demand for* tithe apparent, and to show how very far from truth the missionary's statement is, according to which it would appear, that the clergyman would be a loser by taking the tithe in kind. A farmer, who had reason to apprehend that his crop should be distrained, served a notice on the rector, whom he respected, desiring him to draw his tithe. The clergyman, a little surprised at the requisition, determined, however, to comply with it, and having drawn the tithe and sold it, the net proceeds paid him the tithes of two years, and a considerable portion of the tithe of the third; and as he learned that it was in kindness the notice to draw was served, he thought it proper to cancel the poor man's debt to him, and handed him a receipt for the three years tithe, which (according to a custom very generally prevailing) the farmer had owed.

I do not wish to be understood, as if I thought that there were no vexations to

be complained of in the mode of collecting tithe. The proctors are not in good odour with any class of persons, and, as far as my observations instruct me, they are, not undeservedly, disliked. I have reason to think, that many of them, in order to carry on their warfare successfully against the poor, and to separate from them their natural allies, come forward to the *gentry* of the parish, with an appearance of the greatest frankness and moderation,—"Here, Sir, is "your bill, make what changes in it you "please." The gentleman avails himself of the permission, and the proctor, having made peace in the quarter where it was most necessary, proceeds to business with the poor cottiers. Some of these proctors have shops, and woe betide the peasant who purchases elsewhere; some are farmers, and their sheep are quartered upon their unresisting debtors; some are convivial, and it is harder to entertain them "than the priest." I believe I have made out a stronger case against the proctors than Captain Rock himself, and I am not done with them yet. They are

almost all so stubborn, and so averse to open dealing, that they frequently verify the Captain's allegation, as to their refusing a field note, or an account of the charge for tithe, at a time when the farmer could choose either to pay or to set out the tenth. If we must continue to pay tithe, that is, if the commutation do not become general, this ought to be remedied. It should be made compulsory on a proctor or tithe owner, to let any inquiring tithe payer know the amount of his valuation; and, indeed, I must say, that in most instances, the clergy are sensible of the reasonableness of such a demand, and grant the information as soon as it is required; but I would not have it depending on courtesy; the parson should be compellable to accede to the farmer's request. Another charge against the proctors is, that they are too much in the habit of giving *receipts on account* only; and as the farmer is generally in debt for two or three years, the proctor has it in his power to determine always, for what year he will consider himself paid, and thus to avail himself

of any advantage offered him by a variation in the charge for tithe. These are heavy accusations, and intimate grievous oppressions; but the landlords permit them, because they do not look upon the concerns of the peasantry with a politician's eye, and because they think, that however vexatious the proctors may be, the peasantry will make better terms for themselves (all things considered) than *they* could for *their own* interests (in which the interests of the tenantry merge), by interfering. It may be added, that the proctors too are kept within the line, beyond which if they passed, the giving in kind would become prudent, by the salutary terror in which they are held through the instrumentality of Captain Rock's legislation.

The manner in which the landlords have, under some mistaken notion, conducted themselves, with respect to the vexations by which the poor cottier tenants were harrassed, cannot be better illustrated than by a quotation from a speech made by Lord Kingsborough in the Irish House of Com-

mons, when seconding Mr. Grattan's motion on tithe, in the year 1788. I suppose this is the same noble lord mentioned by Arthur Young as having, a few years before this period, freed his tenantry from the oppressions of the middle men. His lordship after stating, in order to add weight to his allegations, that he resided in the south of Ireland, and could not, of course, be ignorant of the distresses of its poor, proceeded to affirm that "the people who cultivate "the poor lands in the county of Cork are "utterly unable to pay tithe of any kind; "and yet tithe of every kind is most rigo-"rously demanded from them. Many de-"mands made by the clergy are illegal. "I have myself been cited to an ecclesias-"tical court for payment of an illegal "demand; and which, illegal and exorbitant "as it was, I should have been obliged to "comply with, without ever having joined "issue, were I a poor man."

What is the meaning of this declaration? —the declaration of one who was not an enemy, certainly, to the landlords, but who

himself possessed a tract of ground, extending more than sixteen miles in length, and six miles in breadth? What was the meaning of this declaration, but *that the natural protector of the poor man, abandoning his bounden duty, left him exposed, without any countenance or succour, to the most dishonest and rapacious exactions.* And are such the men whose representations are to have weight? Is it to be tolerated, that a person shall come forward and tacitly acknowledge, that he *could* protect the poor by existing laws, but that he would employ them only to protect himself—that his tenantry were oppressed illegally, because he would not take the trouble to give them advice, or would not assist them by his purse; and that although he thus showed himself regardless of the sufferings of the poor, and permitted persons of little wealth and less influence to harrass them, yet he stood forth in the presence of the legislative assembly, as the protector of the people, from whom he shrank away, when it might have cost him more than words to befriend them. "Call

" you this backing your friends? A plague of " such backing say I!" They would not give sixpence to protect the poor man against the proctor, but they will make a bustle in parliament to show what grand things they can do. It would be just as reasonable to attempt banishing rats by act of parliament, in order to save the expense of purchasing poison.

This speech of Lord Kingsborough will perhaps afford us some farther information. Every one knows what cases of extreme severity Mr. Grattan brought forward in support of his celebrated motion against tithe. Let us try whether we cannot account for the excessive charges which he mentioned. At first sight, it can scarcely fail to occasion some surprise, that we should find Arthur Young, in the account of a tour not concluded until the year 1778, bearing his testimony, that the charge for tithe was not unreasonably rated; and Mr. Grattan in ten years after, bringing forward against the clergy the severest accusations. According to Mr. Young, the average charge for the

tithe of wheat, all over the kingdom, was 6*s.* 9*d.* the acre. Mr. Grattan brings forward cases where twenty, and more than twenty shillings had been charged. Mr. Young,* who cannot be supposed partial to the church, does not complain of any thing like severity in the charges made in the county of Cork; he even mentions in one place, the charge as being 8*s.* the acre; and yet, within so short a time we find so surprising a change. Let us see what means we have of explaining this extraordinary difference.

In the first place, many of Mr. Grattan's cases are taken from suits in the ecclesiastical courts; and in the second place, Lord Kingsborough's speech will bring to the recollection of all persons acquainted with the country, the opposition raised by the

* Mr. Young speaks of the vexations suffered from the exactions of proctors; but this rather bears out my charge against the gentry. If the proctors made illegal demands, why did the wealthy landlords suffer their tenantry to be unjustly harrassed? If the demands were legal, what could make them severe, except the exorbitant rents which the gentry exacted?

gentry of the south of Ireland against the clergyman's demand. The noble lord distinctly states, that tithes were demanded in cases where the tenant was not able to pay tithe of any thing.

As it is not stated that these tenants were exempted from the payment of rent, and as, for lands, in the process of being reclaimed, tithe is illegal, I think it fair to conclude, that in the cases alluded to by Lord Kingsborough, the tenants *did pay* a rent, and the meaning, therefore, of the assertion that they could not afford to pay tithe, must be that the *landlord had disabled them by the severity of his demand.*

It appears, indeed, that the gentry of the county of Cork, did not clearly comprehend the nature of tithe, which they considered as a kind of disagreeable and adventitious impost, unjustly imposed in any case where it did not suit the convenience of landlord or tenant to bear the burden willingly. It is perfectly well remembered, that in consequence of such opinions, the gentry (undesignedly, I suppose,) in some instances, fomented the disturbances by which the coun-

try was agitated. Violent altercations frequently ensued; gentlemen of high station and influence accused each other of servility to the church, or of attempts to shake the constitution, by inflaming the animosities of the people. It is remembered, that a gentleman of the first rank, in the county of Cork, lost his life, in consequence of one of these unhappy differences; and it is well known, that such disputes and the conduct which occasioned them, increased very much the confidence and the numbers of the wretched insurgents, who grew gradually into a very dangerous importance.

Now, I do not undertake to say, what the conduct of a clergyman should be in such circumstances. Let casuists say how a minister of the gospel ought to meet opposition. We all can judge how it is natural for *a man* to meet it. The case was this, the clergyman was opposed, in his demand for tithe, by the principal gentlemen in his neighbourhood. Instead of obtaining it in the usual quiet way, he was obliged to seek his right by an application to the ecclesiastical court.

Mr. Grattan, from the registers of the court of Cashel, states the amount of tithe *decreed*, finds this amount exorbitant, *and hence infers, that the charges of the clergy were uniformly excessive.* Would it not be more natural for him to have said, that the clergy, unable to obtain their small demands quietly, determined (as they were opposed) to proceed to the utmost rigour of the law: that, finding all lenient measures to fail, they naturally adopted such as were more severe. It is scarcely possible for any Irishman to think of Mr. Grattan's times, and the moral grandeur into which he lifted his prostrate country, without feeling a degree of reverence in which one cannot dwell upon any little defects; but still, it is to be regretted, that he did not take time to enquire into the nature of the cases decided at Cashel, from the very extraordinary person who, I believe, decided them, or at least, for whom they were decided.

This person was the Rev. Patrick Hare, who seemed placed as the champion of law, and the representative of a kind of stern ci-

vilization, amongst a people, whose manners had sufficient semblance of refinement, but whose lives were just what their personal and immediate interests, and their uneducated passions chanced to make them. Mr. Hare saw that there was opposed to him, if he attempted to recover his tithe, (for he became at about the time of which we are speaking, the rector of a parish), not merely the turbulence of the lower classes, but the avowed and marshaled hostility of the great men of the land. He struggled against both, and he subdued both. Few men, perhaps, were in imminent personal danger more frequently; and although at the risque of his life, and by an exertion of the greatest determination and presence of mind, he preserved the peace of his district and the lives and properties of many of its inhabitants, yet he had still the same hostility to encounter from the gentry, when he attempted to procure his right. Was it to be wondered at, that he should have proceeded to extremities? that as the gentry would not meet him in peace, he should make them feel, that he was equally

prepared for a more violent experiment? It was with his *principal* opponent that he commenced proceedings; and, no longer confining his demand to the reasonable charge he had proposed before, he exacted rigorously the full tenth of every titheable article which his adversary possessed, and the consequence was, that on a careless inspection of the decrees which he obtained, you would think him the severest of tithe extortioners. I remember a case of, I think, the year 1800, where a clergyman obtained, but did not enforce, a decree, at the rate of five pounds for the tithe of one acre of potatoes—he had at first made no higher demand than twelve shillings, but the farmer insisted on litigation, and the clergyman was able to give satisfactory evidence of the number of barrels produced from the acre, and the price at which they were sold.

The great rise of tithe in the county of Cork, then, may be explained in this manner:—the gentry having thrown every opposition in the way of a quiet adjustment of the demands for tithe, the clergy were com-

pelled to resort to the protection of the law, and, having once entered upon the adoption of legal measures, they claimed the full amount of their rights; and it was this *claim of right* which so suddenly increased the rate of tithe, and the value of the livings. The charge I bring against the gentry of that day is, that they were instrumental in inflaming the minds of the people against tithe; that they were violent in their endeavours to render tithe odious in parliament; that, like Ancient Pistol, "they spoke "prave words—as prave words as you could "desire to hear;" but that, as soon as exertions of a different kind became necessary, they left the peasantry to their fate. The same charge which I bring against the gentry of the year 88, their best advocate urges powerfully against them in the year 1824.

There is no one consequence attending Mr. Goulburn's tithe bill which I consider more important, than its efficacy in proving that the Irish gentry are not fit for their stations. I will not, however, make any

charge upon them from popular rumour or personal observation; I will confine myself to the charges contained in a letter addressed to Mr. Abercrombie, on the subject of the tithe composition bill; a letter addressed to the agent of a great absentee proprietor, and which may be considered as, in some sort, the manifesto of the Irish landlords. In this letter we can hardly fail to notice the extreme confusion of reasoning which takes place when the revenues of the church are the subject of attack. The writer confounds the time of Charlemagne, when tithes were appropriated to especial purposes, with that of Henry VIII, whose grant of tithe recognizes no such appropriation. His reasoning about the wealth of the establishment, and the agistment law, is also curious. Tithes, he informs us, were granted to the church because they were of little value, and, when they became valuable, it was just to diminish them. One must believe (in order to suppose this argument conclusive,) that in the old times a kind of curse fell upon the

clergyman's tenth, and made it worthless, while the remaining nine-tenths were preserved for the landlord unhurt—in a kind of Goshen. Does this candid writer insinuate, that *the proportion between church and lay property was destroyed?*—that while the entire produce of the land remained stationary, the tenth was considerably increased?—Or does he assume the principle, that the proportion between the church and the gentry, in point of property, *ought to be destroyed;* that the country had been so little served by the clergy, and had derived and was to derive such important benefits from the lay gentry, that it was proper to contravene the design of the legislature, which had originally determined, that both clergy and gentry should have their possessions increase or diminish in the same constant proportion. This the writer of the letter thinks, of course, too great an honour for the church-men; and judging how injurious they would be to the state if they were rich, and how necessary it was to raise the lay gentry high above them, he is well

pleased that the act passed, by which the gentry transferred, not to the poor, but directly to themselves, a large proportion of the church property,

Well, now, of course, the people have procured defenders able and willing to protect them. Hear the writer of the letter: "I knew where two farmers (they were "counted rich farmers in their parish) re- "sisted an exorbitant demand made by "their rector, and succeeded in their resist- "ance; for they were too palpably in the "right not to succeed. They came out of "the contest with victory and with beggary, "and irretrievable ruin."—Is more necessary in order to convince the people of England that the Irish landlords are false to their trust? What! here are two poor farmers struggling to obtain their rights; the laws are just; the administration of them impartial, and the landlords basely permit those poor men *to fight* THEIR *battle,* and to be ruined for them in the struggle; and they allow the example to be held up before the people at large, that, whatever be the griev-

inces by which they are oppressed, and however practicable it might be to obtain relief through the law, they must not hope to find protectors who will assist them with the means of obtaining justice, but must either bear their oppressions, or resort to some violent means of obtaining redress! Again, we are informed, that in the parish of Castlehaven, the tumults which arose were occasioned by the difficulty which the poor felt in obtaining justice. Two magistrates, he says, decided four hundred cases in one morning; he leaves us to infer that their decisions were not correct. The law requires that magistrates must decide according to the evidence; in the parish there was a considerable number of resident magistrates; those who decided were strangers. What is the meaning of the assertion, then? It is this, that the gentry of Castlehaven either permitted false evidence to be given in, or saw that the magistrates decided contrary to the evidence before them, and yet did not seek, in the court of King's Bench, redress for the poor, and punishment of the delinquents, but

suffered matters to proceed to extremity, and chose rather to hold an inquest of blood, than an inquest of charity. Such are the landlords of Ireland, *by their own showing*; and are such men to have their voices heard in any thing which concerns the interests of the nation or the poor?

The people of England have a ready mode of judging whether the Irish gentry are proper protectors of the poor, or serviceable intervenients between the monarch and the mass of his subjects—such intervenients as may be most likely to link the people with the laws. Let them judge from this;—at a former period, it was in the power of the gentry to free the lower orders from the tithe proctor's vexations, and, by suffering the tithe of agistment to continue, they might have had a system free from all the objections that may fairly be urged against having the impost principally levied upon the poor. The gentry *saved themselves*, and left the poor and the proctor to settle matters by law or by agreement, or by blood, just as their mutual interests or their mutual animosities

prompted. In the year 1824 they have the power, *without increasing the amount of taxation on the land,* to rescue the poor from those vampires (as they are called) to whom they had formerly abandoned them; and, instead of adopting this salutary measure, or showing by fair arguments why they do not, *they have the provisions of the act for composition misrepresented, and a clamour raised against it; as if its object were to increase the income of the church, and reimpose the tithe of agistment.* I have not time here to enlarge upon the nature or provisions of the tithe composition act: one word, however, concerning the principles on which the gentry oppose it. "Why," (asks the writer of the letter to Mr. Abercrombie) "should the "gentry surrender their legal rights, where "the people obtain no equivalent advan-"tages?" I can see no reason why they should; and I have no doubt that there are cases in which the amount of composition is so high, as that the adoption of the measure could not serve the people. But, if the amount be such as to allow a considerable

reduction in the rate which the people must otherwise pay, then I believe it will be admitted, that the gentry might abate something of their legal claims for their own profit, and for the benefit of the people whose protectors they style themselves. That this is the case over the greater part of Munster, it is not difficult to show.

It is to be observed, that, in the charge for tithe, there is, generally speaking, a division adopted, according to which there are three rates of payment. I have never known tithe of the best quality pay more than 12*s.*, and I have frequently known the charge for the third quality to be so low as 4*s.*; and, on the whole, as well as I could form a judgment, the average of payments,* during the seven years ending in 1821, was less than nine shillings to the acre. During this period,

* I leave out of this calculation a few parishes in the county of Cork, where the charge for tithe amounted to something nearer the legal right than in the greater part of the south is usual; and I name the tithe of one kind of grain for no other reason than that of consulting brevity.

according to the average of prices, wheat, the article (the tithe of which I am considering) sold for 1*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* the barrel; and, allowing the average produce to be, what we stated before, 7 ½ barrels, the return of an acre would exceed fourteen pounds ten shillings, and the market price of the tithe would be one pound nine; allow 2*s.* for the difference between the market and the field price, and the value of the tithe would be twenty-seven shillings; *that is, would amount to three times the parson's charge!* Should it not, then, be reasonable to expect, that the gentry would give up something, in order that, for eighteen years, it might be secured to them by law, that the charge for tithe should be equal to *less* than the thirtieth part of the produce? Supposing that, for three years, the parson was paid more than he should have, according to the old system, *might not this over-payment be regarded as the fair purchase of the eighteen years which were to follow?* Even on a supposition, that, for the twenty-one years, the prices of grain were to remain what they were last year, when

wheat brought not more than 1 *l.* a barrel, the parish, by allowing the parson nine shillings an acre for the first three years—a sum, be it remembered, little more than half his legal right—would have secured to themselves, that, for the eighteen years which were to follow, the clergyman could recover a sum *which supposed that his tithe, originally, was only four shillings and sixpence.*

There certainly are cases, in which the parish ought not to adopt the provisions of this Act; for instance, tithe has, in some instances, been charged at so high a rate, that the parishioners would have no benefit from their three years purchase, and, in some places, the proportion of grass land is too small to afford any considerable relief, while the arable land has been so long under tillage, that much of it may be exhausted before the term of composition has expired. But from the nature of the reasoning by which *the very principle* of the tithe-bill is sometimes opposed, I am inclined to believe that the real grounds of opposition are not such as an advocate for the gentry would be

authorized on their part, to express. The gentry remember what they gained in the agistment business; they had hoped, that the church establishment would be annihilated, and that they might seize upon its wealth; and they fear that Mr. Goulburn's bill, by giving it a basis as broad as all Ireland, will secure it against the assaults by which, at a future time, they might aggrandize themselves.

It is not my intention to occupy my pages with any account of the Castlehaven transaction—much might perhaps be said, in the defence of a stranger's conduct, who felt himself opposed by the gentry, and worried by the people, and who, finding no disposition to assist him in those who might have weight with his parishioners, was obliged, or thought himself obliged, to resort to the severest measures of the law, from precisely the same causes which induced the people to resist it. My business, however, is not with individuals, and I cannot but think that the conduct of the gentry furnishes the best commentary on their clamours.

We may judge about the interest they take in the concerns of the poor, from the complacency with which they give them up to the tithe proctor's peculations; and the vulture-like ferocity with which they scream around any unsoundness in the church establishment, ought to give a timely warning to those who are not of the privileged orders, that, although *they* are permitted to run down the prey, they must not expect to banquet upon it.

And yet, strange to say, the landlords contrive, in some way or other, to identify their cause with that of the nation, at least, if we are to depend on such writers as Mr. Abercrombie's correspondent.

This gentleman is so enamoured with every thing belonging to the aristocratic party, that he can even eulogise the vote of the Irish commons against the tithe of agistment, as if it emanated in a prophetic spirit, by which, in spite of all the disadvantages of the climate, they foresaw, at a distant day, crops which nature denied to their own times, and shifting the burden of the church from their own shoulders, enacted a law, or rather passed a

vote, by which even from their graves, they could inflict a new persecution on the poor papists.* Admirable sagacity, no doubt! First, to prevent the church from growing rich, they take away the tithe of agistment, and so discourage agriculture; next, to preclude all chance that the church should continue poor, they offer an enormous bounty

* A farmer's library is generally very limited, and his means of consulting better ones not extensive. I cannot, therefore, pronounce with any greater degree of certainty than I have derived from reflection and from long intercourse with persons who remember the events of many years; but I am strongly inclined to think, that as far as tithes were influential in disturbing the country, they derived their mischievous power from this vote respecting agistment. At the time of the vote, the principal kind of farming was by tillage; for it was very generally thought that the climate was too humid for corn; the incomes of the clergy were accordingly so reduced by the vote, as that they were unable to continue their accustomed indulgence to the poor, who in consequence felt, or thought they felt, a new pressure. Perhaps the decline of the Protestant religion may be ascribed in part to the same cause; bishops finding it necessary to counterbalance the diminution of tithe, by making large unions, which at first allowed no more than a moderate subsistence, but in process of time became the wealthy benefices of modern times.

on the growth, or (which is the same thing) the inland carriage of corn. The Irish parliament foresaw, that if they left the clergy in possession of their entire income, they might become too rich at the end of fifty years, and therefore they take away one part of their income. This might have been applied to the education of the poor, or the providing for the Romish clergy. *It was not so applied;* it was seized, and made private property by the gentry who dispossessed the church of it; and this proceeding is praised by Mr. Abercrombie's correspondent as an act performed by the Irish parliament in one of its rare "moments of wisdom and virtue!" I have sometimes laughed at the idea of men, like Cromwell's followers, pillaging for themselves, and "all for the glory of God;" but to think of the supreme council of a nation seizing upon the revenues of any set of men, and appropriating the spoil, not to any national purpose, but to their own private uses—and to hear this spoken of as an act of *wisdom* and *virtue*—I am a plain man,—in comparison with the polished avower of this

sentiment,—an unlettered man, and yet, I protest to God, I would not accept his talents, and the celebrity they may procure him, if they were to be accompanied by the corrupt and servile spirit which could dictate so unworthy a declaration.* How debased must

* Howsoever indignant we may feel at the declaration of such a sentiment by any one who can, in manner, write like a gentleman, our feelings must be considerably stronger at learning, that a bishop of the church of Rome avows his assent to it. Doctor Doyle actually calls the seizing on the revenues of the church, and making them private property, "a wise vote!" Perhaps he thinks that a people may indulge themselves in every licentiousness here, to whom he assigns a most uncomfortable hereafter. In this one case, at least, Captain Rock seems visited by a return of his native independance, and opposes the bishop and Mr. Abercrombie's correspondent. "In 1762—1786, &c" he says, "the "miserable and starving cottiers, upon whom those "Protestant landlords had thrown the whole support "of the Protestant church, dared to imitate their "betters, (in all but injustice)," &c. Captain Rock calls this repeal of agistment an additional cause of Irish disturbance. It compelled the clergy, by the diminution of their incomes, to abandon their former maxims of indulgence to the poor. Declan observes, that the vote was wise, if its intent were to overthrow the church; as it occasioned a necessity for uniting parishes to provide a decent subsistence by episcopal regulations and by acts of council.

be the moral sense—how faded even the memory of all nobleness, before such a thought could be suffered to escape beyond the heart where it originated, and before a sentiment could be expressed, in a correspondence with a gentleman of high reputation, which should make a man of honour blush to be found standing by the side of one who had shamelessly avowed it.

Something too much of this. It is easy to judge, that with such notions of virtue, the enemies of the church are little impeded in their operations by the checks of conscience. No wonder, therefore, if, being free from all moral restraint, they succeeded in persuading many respectable farmers, and deluding the great mass of cottier tenants, and even their great protector, Captain Rock, into a notion, that the church establishment was inimical to the welfare of the people. The poor peasantry were in that state of general debility which made them feel an oppression at any part of the frame to which their attention was directed. I remember reading, in an account of the sensations of some person who had been put to the tor-

ture inflicted on culprits who refuse to plead; that, after some time, he became unconscious of the pressure on his breast, but, with a diseased irritability, felt intolerable anguish from the weight of a cambric handkerchief which was laid gently on his face. It was thus that the people suffered; they had lost all consciousness of the burden which the landlords laid upon them; they knew that they were miserable; and when they were directed to the tithe, as the cause of their wretchedness, they were, and it is no wonder that they were, prompt to believe. But they are not void of understanding, and if only those persons whose interest it is to set them right, would honestly endeavour to instruct them upon the subject, we might soon have a peasantry with different notions concerning the causes of their grievances.

I will take leave, here, to recount a short dialogue, which I held with a poor neighbour at the close of the last summer. He called on me to settle an account for the rent of his little farm, and in the course of conversation I inquired whether he had paid his

tithe. I perceived that he hesitated a little, and wished to evade all discussion on this obnoxious topic, and I applied myself to the resource, which, all writers agree, has the power to open man's heart. The application was not without effect; my gigantic tenant shook his hyacinthine curls, and pronounced it to be "the right thing," and prayed "that "my honour might have long life and pros-"perity, &c. &c." On repeating my inquiry about the tithe, he became more communicative. "Why, then," said he, "I *will* tell "you all about it, and why should'nt I— "may be you'd think worse" (Anglice better) "of me than them that would'nt let me tell "you. I *didn't*, then, pay the minister, and "I don't know when I will pay him."— "And why will you not; his charge is very "reasonable?"—"Oh, it is not that at all; "it isn't for the lucre of the money, but I "would'nt wish to set a bad pattern in the "country—and that's it all out now." I endeavoured to convince him, that paying a man's debts could hardly be called a bad pattern any where, not even in Ireland,—

but he did not relish the notion of calling tithe a debt "I'd pay my debts," said he, "agin any man in the parish, little or great, "and my father and mother know, that's their "sowls that's in purgatory, God be marciful "to 'em, know well enough, that I'm a good "warrant to pay for my seed, breed and "generation—but sure tithes is not in that "way; sure nobody ever thought it was a "sin not to pay tithes and taxes, and the "likes of them things." I asked him what he meant by debts, if he did not allow tithes to be such; his answer was prompt: "Any "thing that I got value for, and sure the "minister never gave me value for the "tithe." "Don't you know that if you "were not to pay tithe, you should pay me "a higher rent than you do?"

"Oh, then, God bless your honour, and "its I that would, and glad I'd be to do it, "and my blessing along wid it."

"But I should have no benefit from it; "I should pay it to the head landlord; so "that if you were not to pay the tithe, you

" should pay the same amount, as rent, to " Lord ——."

" Is it he the negur,—bad luck to him " night and morning, I'd rather pay the " minister itself than he to get it—the dirty " miser,* that took to his scrapers, when he " heard that his tinants were coming to see " him, and all the boys with the cockades " bought to put in their hats, and would not " let the great poet stay behind, that makes " the songs about the grand ould times— " and two of the gentlemen down on their " knees to axe lave for him to stay, and

* The missionary may perhaps have heard how a peer and a poet made rather a hasty exit from Killarney last year; it can do no harm to give the commentary of my poor friend upon it. At the same time that this peer withdrew himself so suddenly, without seeing his tenants, Mr. Stanley was on the estates of his noble grandfather, visiting in person and alone the cabins of the tenantry; seeing with his own eyes their condition, and leaving behind him a remembrance that will make his generosity and benevolence and encouraging condescension well known, and loved with enthusiasm by the grandchildren of the men, to whose hearts he imparted a hope to which they had long been strangers. —Oh! that he were imitated!

" the ladies running mad after him, and the
" dinner bought and all—oh! devil a bit of
" the ugly negur would give him lave to
" stay, but hoised him off body and bones,
" and my curse and the curse of all the
" tinants along with him. If it's he that's
" to get the tithe—I'll go this minite, and
" I'll not stop nor stay till I take the minis-
" ter the money, and I'll be bail, 'tis long
" again till I'll let any one put me astray,
" without coming to your own honour."
Thus ended our dialogue; and I had soon the satisfaction of learning, that one of the best and most amiable men in the country was relieved from considerable embarrassment in consequence of the pattern which my convert had set, and which was very generally followed.

I have now completed the task which I imposed upon myself, that of laying before the public, the sentiments of an Irish farmer, on the manner in which the church establishment affects the interests of those who cultivate the soil. The landlords cry out, abolish the tithe, that you may give the pea-

santry an opportunity to breathe; *and it is by those very landlords, that the power to breathe has been taken from them.* The landlords, who extricated themselves from tithe, and left the people fettered, call upon the English nation to do what they themselves have left undone. If it be the intention of the ministry or the nation to accede to their wishes, let them, in God's name, overturn the church establishment, but let them not confound the names of things by a hypocritical pretence, that they intend to benefit the poor. If there be unsoundness in your church, cut it off; if the gentry have overawed you, give it up to their rapacity; but do not profess to imagine that the peasantry will be suffered to have a share in the spoil. No; the gentry will for a short time silently and fiercely revel in church possessions, and, when they have glutted themselves to the full, they will turn again to their sure resource—the miserable tenantry of Ireland; and they will cry out with as fell an eagerness then as they do now—like the horse leeches' three daughters, "more! more! more!"

CHAPTER VII.

PENAL LAWS.

"THE madman flingeth fire-brands and "saith, am I not in sport?" I do not know whether the missionary publisher of Captain Rock's memoirs will avail himself of this excuse, but, certain it is, he has flung fire-brands. I believe it is in one of Goldsmith's Essays, that we read of a gentleman, who, having exhausted all his means of giving charity, thrust into the hands of the last unfortunate petitioner, the sole possession he had remaining—*a bundle of matches.* The missionary has bestowed such a present upon Ireland. He has written a book, which, he may be sure, will be read and remembered; he has collected, within a portable compass, all the topics that can stir the blood of the uninstructed Irish; and this, in a new spirit of missionary heroism, *with perfect safety to himself.* It was a desideratum in the rebellion of 1798, to procure "a gun which could shoot round a corner."

Let it be no longer thought so.—The compassionate missionary has found a means whereby mischief and security may be firmly united. To be sure, there may be men of antiquated notions, who will call such a union disgraceful—these romantic persons may say, that the missionary, who saw the hazards to which the Irish gentry were exposed, and who was hospitably entertained in their blockaded mansions, ought to have more regarded the sentiment of honour, than to have first withdrawn himself from all personal danger, and then endeavoured to make the scene he had left more terrible. But let no such fantastical remonstrances vex the missionary's peaceful spirit—they cannot rail the seal off Longman's bond—they cannot start into life, and scare his gentle slumbers by shouts and shots, and the more terrific sounds which his battered doors return. No, no! the missionary is safe; the London watch are faithful protectors, and he may rest in peace; the society to which he belongs are admiring auditors, and reward him with honours fitted to a modern taste. He can

sip his tea with the amiable spinsters, delighting and delighted, can indulge himself occasionally with an excursion to Ireland (only in fancy though), and listen to the explosions of which he has laid the train; and, when he returns to sober life again, to regale himself on the report of some horrible assassination, he may say within his heart, in an exultation which, if not martial or chivalrous, may yet be true missionary, "This! this "is my glorious work, and I have but stained "my fingers to atchieve it!" Give him, give the saintly missionary the honours he merits. Let the laurels of victory bind his brow, to commemorate the blood he has shed; let the civic crown shine conspicuously above it, for he has preserved *himself* to the nation—give him the laurels he so richly deserves—

"He won them well—and may he wear them long."*

I hope it will not be imputed to malevolence or envy, if I venture to state that the missionary chose the part which was attended

* This line occurs somewhere, (I forget where), in one of Lord Byron's poems, and refers to Mr. Thomas Moore.

with least difficulties. The truth is, that the topics calculated to create mischief in Ireland, are much more easily found than the means of doing good. There is sufficient reason for feeling hatred towards the British government afforded to all who adopt the wolf's principle—that we should murder the child, because the father, or the great grand-father has offended; and the missionary *(to whom, as he states, it is of infinite importance that his book be read)*, accommodating himself to this christian principle, has produced a work of which the object seems to be, to make us forget the advantages which we might enjoy now, by teaching us that our fathers were denied them.

The history of Irish suffering is certainly a grievous one, and if it were presented to us for the purpose of showing that more equitable principles than those of former years, prevail now, and of intimating still further improvements, there would be good reason why we should feel grateful to the writer, and pay him honours, not of the same kind with those the missionary has earned, but

perhaps not less creditable. But in the details with which he has presented us, we see nothing but a black catalogue of wrongs and sufferings, without any means whatever of forming an opinion what good purpose the author means to serve, or what plan of action or endurance he would propose for our adoption. Let us see, then, since this missionary will not deign to be our guide, what we can do for ourselves.

Every body, I dare say, is aware, that the misfortune befel Ireland to be conquered by a neighbouring country, but not at first by that country's sovereign. The invasion of Ireland was originally little better than a buccaneering exploit; and the barons who established themselves in the territories they won, blended the worst spirit of trade with the insolence of a successful storming-party. Had a monarch been the conqueror, he would have felt his glory identified with the happiness and security of the people, and husbanded the resources of a nation which might furnish useful subjects, and become an integral part of his kingdom.

Had the country been colonised by merchants, they must have sought their sovereign's protection, and the spirit of trade, however gross, would have, in time, given life to a sense of justice, by teaching the necessity of it. If the conquerors had been instigated by a purely chivalrous spirit, they would have been ambitious to extend the glory of their sovereign's name, and to establish and support his government.—But it was the fate of Ireland to be mastered by adventurers, whose fortunes needed present repair, and whose habits had taught them to think lightly of all moral obligation, if, only, they could defend by the sword, what they had won by the sword. Perhaps we would be justified in yielding credence to the report, that Ireland was looked upon with a kind of superstitious regard, and that even a papal bull was not potent to disperse the halo which six ages of holiness had shed over the island of saints. It is certain, that, in general, the adventurers who descended upon the land, were not of a character much tinged by superstition, and perhaps this may

afford some indication, that the attempt was not in good repute among those who would be most likely to make conquest prove a blessing to the people whom they subdued. Hence, in all probability, it was, that the new adventurers, by whom the English power was continually strengthened, were men very little likely to be deterred from the prosecution of any scheme, for no other reason than that it was not honest. Accordingly, the history of Ireland is a history of continued oppression—even to such an extent as that it caused hatred to merge in terror, and sent men, who detested the very name of England, to supplicate in the most urgent terms, the grace of English protection. The fate of such petitions may easily be collected. They were petitions to a sovereign against servants whom he had not the power to punish—they were petitions for the benefits of a law which would deprive such servants of valuable slaves, and protect the Irish lands against their irrespective spoliation; and the barons, as was to be expected, opposed the petitions, and the sovereign

could not controul nor correct them; and, in consequence, Ireland remained excluded from all the benefits of the English law, and harrassed by petty feuds, which arose out of the jarring interests of the adventurers, and the ardent longing after the possessions of the natives—a longing which was kept continually alive by the swarms of new settlers who were constantly bringing themselves and their necessities into this devoted land.

I will not undertake to say, that in the judgment I form of the motives on which the English barons acted, I may not be insensibly misled by the prejudices of my early years. It might be, that private interest was not the ruling passion. It might be, that some uncompromising nobles beheld, with dissatisfaction, the facility with which English settlers, and Irish natives were found to coalesce; they saw, perhaps, what they considered, the degenerating tendencies of their countrymen; they saw how they were captivated by the blandishments of Irish sociability, how they adopted the freedom of Irish habits; they saw them becoming Irish in

their garb and in their manners—they knew the power of song, and all the romantic seductions by which the bards could entice them; and the war, which they maintained against the natives, was perhaps such a one as England, in these latter times, felt herself compelled to enter into against Republican France—a war against opinions as much as against enemies. One who came to the history of Ireland completely free from all kinds of prejudice, might, perhaps, from the first statute of Kilkenny, and some similar enactments, form such an opinion as this. But, whatever was the cause, the entreaties of the Irish to be admitted within the pale of English law, were neglected, and the countries continued to maintain a kind of predatory intercourse with each other, under separate governments, but a common sovereign, until the Reformation came to be a new principle of division, more dangerous than the opposing interests and the discrepancy of manners, which were the disuniting principles of the old time.

It was not to be expected that the Irish

nation should readily embrace the reformed religion. It was what they considered a novelty, and a novelty invented by their oppressors. England offered her religion, but she had withheld her law; and the Irish people knew how to estimate, according to the boon which she denied, the value of the grace which she proffered. The old natives were, in consequence, very averse to the change; and the settlers (many of whom had conformed to the habits of the country, and were living in amity with the ancient inhabitants) thought it would be rather inconsistent, that, after having so long grounded the justice of their claims to Irish possessions, on the authority of the Pope to give and take away, they should now declare that he had no such authority, and, in consequence, that their claims rested on no other title than that which they derived from their swords. This was, to be sure, the title on which they had originally relied; but after having for so long a time set up another, and found it (especially those who had conformed to the Irish habits) so convenient,

they thought that it must be attended with bad consequences if they were to lay it aside. So much for their political disinclination to the doctrines of the Reformation; and, at first, there were no preachers or instructors to make them feel a constraining influence from its holiness and wisdom.

Henceforth Ireland is to be viewed in a new relation—owing subjection to the Pope, and to England a divided allegiance. The grandeur of the papal dominion consisted in its power to unite all the discordant states of Christendom into one great monarchy, and, in some measure, to preserve their union. Although the free spirit of the sixteenth century prevailed, and popery lowered her standard to the triumph of reason, yet her genius was still the same, and, though compelled to relinquish the ensigns of authority, she was zealous as ever to preserve the substance. Ireland, before so little noticed, became all at once important, and prophecies were now discovered and disseminated by the emissaries of the church of Rome, declaring that the holy island of the

west was the last stay and fortress of the cause of true religion. *And from the time when the sovereign pontiff thus addressed himself to this country, until the final adjustment at the Revolution (or perhaps one might say until a later period) there was scarcely one important commotion which he did not endeavour to turn to his account.*

It is not impertinent to remark here, the difference between the influence acquired or exercised by the spiritual and by the temporal powers. To the priests the entire structure of the mind is laid open—its plots, its purposes, its secret workings, its half-imagined designs, its hopes, its terrors, its hatreds—all its operations are clearly exposed, and may be perspicuously examined. The civil power is left to collect the secret workings of the mind from the actions which they originate. The statesman may have a considerable knowledge of man's nature; he may understand the character of the people for whom he is to legislate, but he may be totally ignorant of the fortuitous and unforeseen obstructions which, on various

occasions, may clog the wheels of government, and turn awry the principles of legislation; but the priest can know all this, he can see at once the wisdom of laws, and their inapplicability in consequence of some minute or adventitious circumstance; and, accordingly, may have it in his power for a time to render the best code of laws unserviceable, and to embarrass the exertions of the most active government, by means which, to an ordinary observer, shall appear altogether insignificant.

To this kind of divided government Ireland became subject from the æra of the Reformation. She had always (and certainly with good reason) been desirous to obtain the protection of some foreign power; but hitherto she was of so little importance as to be overlooked by the great monarchies of Europe. An attempt, indeed, appears to have been made by the sovereigns of Spain and France, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII, to raise some disturbance in Ireland, but the design was speedily abandoned. Now, however, a new motive was

given for the exertion of foreign powers, and a new importance attached to every country in communion with the church of Rome; and from this time we can trace the machinations of continental emissaries in the disorders which took place here, and we can see the bonds of connection between the Irish and their foreign protectors or disturbers, becoming every day more powerful and more acceptable. We have full proofs that there was a natural and a strong affinity towards the foreign powers; and it was only by an external and an arbitrary force that England could prevent a perfect amalgamation.

So long as the strength of the governing country was undiminished, and its resources easily commanded, Ireland was held in subjection; and although her heart, if I may so say, pointed to the continent, yet, by a positive force, she was kept fixed in a constrained obedience, and only suffered new hardships as the consequence of her impotent desires. Ireland was connected with the continental powers by all the ties that endear connection;

all that is generous in our nature, all that is venerable, every thing that can elevate the imagination, and set the heart on fire. Hope and glory, and religion and hatred, were the powerful attractions that kept Ireland in the same system with the Roman Catholic nations; and for England there was but one principle efficient—the principle of fear; and for England there was nothing to be relied on, except the efficacy of external coercion. If there were, (and surely there were many) discerning and philosophical minds in England, how strange the condition of this country must have appeared to them! It was something contrary to the order of nature—a realization in politics of the Ptolemaic system; fear the centre, and all the glorious principles of our nature constrained to move around it! It was the conquest of magic art over humanity, resting for security on one spell-word, and shaking to its centre whenever the talisman was invaded. What wonder, that, unable to rule by natural means, they guarded their sole reliance with jealous care, and multiplied word and sign and

watchful spirits, to protect the one stay upon which they relied for the stability of English connection? I put it to the breast of any man of honesty and good feeling, is not this the truth? Men of England! am I in error? Were these the difficulties, which, not mine, but your ancestors, had to contend with?—And will you suffer yourselves to be led astray from the consideration of their embarrassments? and will you join in the vulgar censure upon their memories, at the instigation of this flippant missionary politician, who flings his pernicious missal to the world, regardless of all other consequences, provided that his patrons are gratified, and his book is purchased?

The penal laws enacted against the Roman Catholics in the earlier times of the Reformation, are now suffered to be in comparative oblivion, and all the violence of party is concentrated in fierce indignation against those which were enacted at the commencement of the last century, These, we are told, were at variance with sound policy, and in contradiction to a solemn treaty. I am one

of those who hold, that expediency cannot justify a breach of faith, and I would consider it a foul stain upon the character of the English nation, if a solemn treaty, to which the nation stood pledged, were violated, not by any act of individual rapacity, but by the supreme council of the people. Is this the case with respect to the treaty of Limerick? The facts are these; in the year 1691, the generals commanding the army of William, enter into engagements, which their monarch ratifies, that the Roman Catholics shall be put into the situation they were in when Charles the Second reigned. In 1703, the parliament of Ireland pass an Act of pains and penalties on the Roman Catholics, and this is the Act which, I believe, is considered a breach of faith. Before I state the grounds upon which the propriety of this Act may be supposed to rest, I wish to ask the question, where is the breach of faith? It is evident that there is a considerable difference between treaties entered into with a foreign power, and those which are established between the subjects

of the same government. Any law contrary to the spirit of the treaty may in one instance be a breach of faith, because it is an act passed against a nation no way consulted in the passing of it, and in contravention of the league by which the two nations are bound together; but the same thing may take place without the same duplicity between the subjects of *the same* country, *because the nation*, CONSISTING OF BOTH PARTIES *passes the law*; because all parties are represented in the assembly, where its merits are discussed, and because all parties concede their own rights in all cases, for what that assembly decide that the safety of the country requires.* I perplex myself with these abstract principles, and must come to the particular case.

William the Third, agreed to place the Irish Roman Catholics in the same condition

* It cannot be pretended that the treaty of Limerick was violated by the enactment of the penal code, *unless it be pretended that the condition of Roman Catholics in the reign of Charles* II, *was such as exempted them, no matter how great their political delinquencies, from the operation of any penal enactment.*

in which they were in the reign of Charles the Second; and what was that condition? it was a condition in which they were to be governed by the legislature of the country, and in which they admitted, that this legislature was endowed with power to make laws for what they conceived to be the good of the nation, even though they bore hard on individuals; of course admitted, *that they were not exempted from its power.* Where, then, is the breach of faith? Certainly, if the treaty were nothing more than a treacherous plot, devised to induce a submission on the part of the Roman Catholics, and of which the violation was contemplated by the contracting parties, it was a flagitious transaction; *but I can find no evidence of such base equivocation.* The treaty was observed; the Roman Catholics were placed in the condition they had held in the reign of Charles the Second; they continued for twelve years to enjoy many of their privileges; the king who sanctioned the treaty, had performed, with slight exceptions, his promises; and it was during the reign of a new sovereign and in a

new parliament, *exerting that power of which no treaty* WITH SUBJECTS *could deprive them*, that the act passed, which is termed treacheous as well as impolitic.

Far be it from me to be the apologist of any breach of faith, or to say that *any light matter* could justify the penal laws. The Roman Catholics, on the faith of a treaty, had settled in the country—they had purchased lands and improved them; and if the Parliament, without just cause—that is to say, (for nothing less could be a justification,) without being firmly convinced that the *safety of the nation required it*, infringed the rights which that treaty bestowed, their conduct deserves all the censure that should fall on a disgraceful and an impolitic spoliation. Let us see, then, what were the grounds upon which a parliament had to determine the question whether the safety of the nation could be preserved, and the Roman Catholics left in possession of the privileges they enjoyed.

It is well known, that, although a few of the old natives tenaciously clung to their national and separate interests, yet the grand

struggle of the Irish, after the conquest, was, that they might be admitted to the privileges of English law. This is a fact admitted and enlarged upon by even the most national of modern writers. The desire of being incorporated with England continued,—how long? Until the reign of Henry VIII, (for this is also established by the same authority,) when a new principle of disunion arose to keep Ireland separate in its interests and its prejudices from the country with which it had so lately supplicated for a connection. What was the state of the case before the parliament of Queen Anne? It was this, that, until England became Protestant, the struggle in Ireland was to be united to her; that, since she became so, the efforts were attempts at separation. As soon as this fact had once impressed itself upon men's minds, it was natural that they should look with great jealousy upon the principle which accounted for it, and that they should become more zealous and more watchful, according as this principle of disunion could be set in action by more effective agents. Let it

be remembered, too, that the disuniting principle was not merely a speculative tenet, which might cause, occasionally, intestine broils, and yet leave the outlines of the government just what they were: *it was no less than a dispute as to whether the sovereign of England, or the Roman pontiff, was entitled to the supreme jurisdiction in Ireland.* Not to go back to earlier times, when the people of Ireland appeared to have decided this question in favour of the foreign power, and paid to it a marked obedience; not to go back to the days when the wretched Irish felt themselves elevated into the proud preeminence of being the chosen champions of the faith—when the influence of foreign machinations was to be perceived in the disorder by which the land was agitated during the reign of Elizabeth, when the comparative absence of foreign influence was attended by the comparative quiet which was enjoyed during the reign of James the First; not to go back even to the days when faction and foreign intrigue were powerful enough to destroy the best concerted pro-

jects for the unfortunate Charles—when Ormond, a name that should never be effaced from the records of heroism—Ormond, whose renown does not fill the world, and whose name does not stir the hearts of all who are capable of feeling a high emotion, only because he devoted his noble soul, and his sublime endowments, to the concerns of this wretched land, and to the misfortunes of his sovereign; when this Ormond was obliged to yield to the power of an insolent ecclesiastic, and beheld the enthusiasm in his favour, and the admiration which he had so painfully earned, subside and fall away, and saw his ranks thinned, and his cause deserted, because the Irish people respected more the malediction of a foreign priest, than the solemn oaths and obligations by which they had bound themselves to their king; not to go back to times like these, and all the agitating remembrances they awakened—what was the situation of affairs when the act was passed? The armies of France were crowded with Irish Roman Catholics, still under the command of the

exiled prince. He had, on his father's death, been proclaimed king of England and Ireland by the French monarch. Spain and the Pope had echoed the proclamation, and this, on the eve of a war with England, which broke out immediately after. If the Roman Catholics of Ireland were honest men, could they be faithful to the new government of England? Let it be remembered, that not more than thirty years had elapsed since the contests about the famous "Remonstrance;" and that the consequences of these contests were yet fresh in all men's memories. *Here was a case, where, on proposing a declaration framed by a Roman Catholic priest, declaratory of loyalty to the king, and denying that the pope had temporal authority or a deposing power, there could be found but one bishop and twenty-three priests to sign the declaration; and these unfortunate men, for their alleged contumacy to the pope, were deprived of their cures, and exposed to the most cruel persecution.* Let it be remembered, that this took place in the reign of a monarch well affected towards the Catholic

party, and was it to be expected, that if his indulgences, and his supposed congeniality of sentiment, could not enable him to procure an acknowledgment of his independance on the pope—a monarch of different sentiments should be regarded by the Roman Catholic priests and laymen, with sentiments of loyal attachment? It would be monstrous to expect it. When Charles, in some measure, might be said to rule in their hearts, and to favour their religion, they would not regard him in a higher light *than as the pope's vassal*; was it likely then that when the pope had named a monarch of Ireland, a monarch who held the popular religion, and who was opposed to a ruler not recognised by the "setter up and putter down of "kings;" was it likely that the people should slight the declarations of the sovereign pontiff, and reverence the queen whom he had virtually dethroned?

I could say more on this subject, but it has been already so well handled in a pamphlet occasioned by J. K. L.'s vindication, that it would be doing injustice to my reader,

not to quote the passage;* "The relative po-
"sition of the Protestant and Popish party
"at the time of the revolution, was such as
"to fill the mind of any one, who was anxi-
"ous for the security of the constitution as
"then established, with the most alarming
"apprehensions. A king but lately ex-
"pelled from his dominions, and having
"left, particularly in this country, a power-
"ful party behind him, ready to take ad-
"vantage of any circumstances that might
"enable him to regain his throne. Foreign
"princes in alliance with this deposed mo-
"narch, and ready to forward his views upon
"England, by every means, whether of
"force or fraud, within the compass of their
"abilities. The pope, not then, as now, a
"cypher, but uniting the spiritual authority
"of supreme pontiff, with the dignity and
"the influence of a temporal prince, and
"claiming and exercising a power of absolv-
"ing subjects from their allegiance. The
"most revolting and objectionable doctrines

* Observations, pages 6—7.

" and dogmas of popery not then, as now,
" studiously concealed or ingeniously ex-
" plained away, but openly professed and
" practically exemplified. All these were
" causes sufficient powerfully to alarm and
" agitate the minds of the Protestants, and
" afford, surely, some colourable pretext for
" the precautions which they felt themselves
" called upon to take in a country that has
" always been 'the vulnerable heel of the
" 'British Achilles,' against adversaries who
" were both numerous and active, at home
" and abroad, and in defence of a succes-
" sion but newly established, and a con-
" stitution by which they had been redeemed
" at once from the yoke of a spiritual and a
" political tyranny, the most ruthless and
" insulting that ever threatened to bow the
" necks, and extinguish the energies of a
" gallant and enlightened people. Let me
" not be understood as if I would visit with
" any heavy censure the memory of those
" who exhibited, even after his abdication,
" a perverse loyalty to the unfortunate and
" misguided James. No; rebellion perhaps

"never could have been so plausibly justi-
"fied. Moreover, it was not natural that
"they should hate the monarch who was
"devoted to their religion, and the instru-
"ment by whom they hoped to wreak
"ample vengeance upon those whom they
"considered their oppressors. *But let a*
"*similar allowance be made for the reasonable*
"*fears, and the natural prejudices of the*
"*Protestant party.* I am ready to grant,
"that if the code which aggrieved the Ro-
"man Catholics, were wantonly and un-
"necessarily inflicted on them, it were
"deserving of every reprobation. If those
"who were deprived of their civil rights,
"*were, at the time of being so deprived, willing*
"*to be good subjects, if they were sincere in*
"*their attachment to a Protestant government,*
"*disposed to cherish British connection,* and
"needing no other ties to bind them to the
"state than those of duty and allegiance,
"then the penal code must be allowed to
"have been unnecessary; and nothing more
"is wanting to prove that it was both un-
"just and cruel. But if the contrary of all

" this be true, (and I believe that there is
" scarcely any audacity to be found bold
" enough to deny the authentic records of
" history on the subject), if the Roman
" Catholics were, at the time of their dis-
" franchisement, disaffected to the church,
" disaffected to the state, disaffected to the
" succession, disaffected to British connec-
" tion, devoted to popery, implicated in trea-
" sonable connection with foreign princes
" hostile to the country, and attached to the
" fortunes of the Pretender; then, let some
" reasonable allowance be made for the
" feelings of men, who, moved by these
" weighty and perilous considerations,
" sought to avert, by all means in their
" power, a recurrence of the evils to which
" they had been so recently exposed, from
" which they had escaped, but as by miracle,
" and which they saw must again impend
" if they remained supine, while foreign
" hostility was conspiring for their over-
" throw, with domestic treason."

So much in justification of the motives by which we may fairly suppose the Irish par-

liament influenced in its enactment of the penal laws. Upon the policy of enacting them, it might be more difficult to determine. It was, the author of "a Sketch of the State "of Ireland past and present," observes, a policy "ensuring temporary tranquillity and "lasting dissension. *Contempt would have "extinguished the Catholic superstition, pro- "scription has perpetuated it.*" Whether this be a fair statement of the question I do not know; but certainly if, as this eloquent writer admits, the penal laws were "useful to Wil- "liam and his near successors," by ensuring a temporary tranquillity, it would be a dangerous experiment to have adopted, in their stead, a measure of only prospective usefulness. It must have been of very great importance to the new government, that its precarious existence should be fostered and confirmed during a season of domestic tranquillity. It very much abated the hopes of English malcontents, and it dulled the spirit of enterprise in foreign princes—that there was no encouragement afforded by risings in Ireland; and if this appearance of quiet

could be induced only by enactments which kept Roman Catholics forciby bowed down, and which prevented their hearts from reviving out of the despondence into which past losses had cast them, although we must regret the necessity, and though we may have reason to deplore the consequences of such temporising legislation, yet we perhaps ought to acknowledge that, under the circumstances, a more liberal and prospective policy was not practicable.

"Contempt would have extinguished the "Catholic superstition." An English monarch, firmly seated on his throne, could have afforded to try the experiment. He might have left the Roman Catholics in possession of their arms and their immunities; and, if they rose in insurrection, he could have commanded the resources of the united monarchy to quell their vain attempts; but how could a sovereign venture upon adopting such a course, who was so circumstanced, as that the rising in any one part of his dominions, might be only the prelude to a general insurrection, and the signal for

foreign invasion. The connection with a foreign country too, rendered it extremely difficult to give the operation of "contempt" a fair trial. The English people despised the religion of Ireland, and scorned to coerce its votaries; and if Ireland had no knowledge of any other nation, it would be natural to expect, that the admiration of England's greatness, might be a means of gradually bringing into disrepute a religion which she despised; but Ireland was not excluded from continental intercourse, and in it she would have learned to set at nought a scorn which was so well repaid by the disdain with which she saw the professors of "the heresy" regarded. It was only by preventing all intercourse with foreign states, that the experiment of extinguishing the religion by contempt could be fairly tried, and, even in the most favourable circumstances, success was probably doubtful, and at all events it was distant.

The government adopted the readier expedient; whether there might not have been a better system pursued than either

contempt or excessive rigour, is a question upon which I do not mean to enlarge. I think it probable, that, had the severity of the penal laws been tempered by a kindliness of social feeling—had the Protestants regarded the laws as powerful means entrusted to their care, to coerce, when it was necessary, the rising intemperance of the depressed faction, *and, in the mean time, behaved towards them with the confiding and conciliating demeanour which their condition seemed to require, and which a vigilant and energetic government would have rendered harmless*—if, thus, the rigours of the law had been mitigated by the intervention of private benevolence, and the government continued vigilant and steady, the consequence would have been, that, while the Roman Catholics were precluded from the power of doing mischief, they would have been under a process of gentle treatment and good usage, which might have brought them finally into an union of sentiment with their rulers. A different course was adopted; the spirit which dictated the

severity of the law, seemed to reign in the heart of individuals, and the law which should have called virtues into action, such as, by a reciprocal exercise, might have drawn the people together by the cords of love, became, on its failure to effect this consummation, a new principle of disunion.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMITTEES.—PRIESTS.

TO a person well acquainted with the sentiments of the Irish poor, the interest excited about the measure of "Catholic "emancipation," appears very much disproportioned to the importance of the subject. To read the eloquent speeches which this question has called forth, and to think of the mighty men who have devoted their whole hearts and souls to the attainment of the measure, one would imagine, that the Irish people felt a general and lively interest about it, and that to grant the petitions of the Roman Catholics would be amongst the most efficacious means of tranquillizing the country. It is not wonderful that the English people should attach considerable importance to this measure, and that they should think the Irish nation very generally anxious to obtain

the benefits of it. It is one of the greatest evils to which this country is subject, that its *real complaints* are drowned in the clamours of men, who, so long as the voice of Ireland is unheard, hope that they may be something. They succeed so far as to have it thought, that they are the disease under which the country is labouring, when they are, in reality, only the vermin engendered in her sores; but the attention of England is so much directed towards this miserable swarm, which how noisome soever it may be, has not power or courage to do injury; that the real grievances under which we are suffering, grievances obvious to all who live among the people, are suffered to continue unregarded.

A number of persons meeting in Dublin at stated times, and calling themselves the "Catholic Association," indulge day after day in declaiming upon the power and the numbers of their people, and on the expediency of conciliating them, by granting their petition. To hear these persons speak of the six millions of Catholics and of Irish bravery,

and unmerited suffering, and determination to resist, and all the other topics suitable to an association speech, would make one, for a moment, fancy that the outrages in the south of Ireland, are only, as it were, a keeping time to the music of this commanding body. "So Orpheus fiddled, and so danced the brutes." One might think that Captain Rock and Mr. O'Connell had divided their offices, and agreed (as the actors of old times), that one should perform the speaking part and the other the gesticulation; while the truth is, that this body of men is as little regarded and as little known by the poorer classes in the country, as their insignificance in rank or talent would lead one to expect. With the exception of Mr. O'Connell, the members of the body are unknown, and he has acquired a popularity, something similar in kind, but certainly inferior in degree, to that which is considered due to the Irish champion Langan.

I would not feel in the least displeased, that the members of this self-constituted body should amuse themselves in any inno-

cent manner whatever, nor even that they should deliver speeches against all constituted authorities; this would no more discompose me than to hear of apprentice boys undertaking to enact Shakspeare's tragedies; the annoyance is, that they attract to their senseless debates the attention of the government, as if they had some influence with the people; when, I will venture to say, that if, even in Dublin, the 12th of next June were to bring a report, that Langan had been victorious, and the government made choice of that day, to forbid the sittings of these ardent patriots, the destruction of "the "mirror of Catholic sentiment," would not throw the slightest damp upon the people's exaltation. And yet this body, and the press of which they have the command, appear in the sight of the English people, as if they were the organs through whom the Roman Catholic population spoke their sentiments, and even Protestants will, through fear of disturbing them, hesitate about pursuing that course of action which the circumstances of the country impera-

tively demand. It is a dangerous encouragement to licentious speech, and it is a cruel infliction upon Ireland—as cruel as is the the conduct of some eastern enthusiasts, who condemn living dervises to the loathsome penance of giving up their persons to be food for vermin.

I wish it were possible to convey even a faint idea of the little interest excited in the minds of the Irish people by the proceedings of this body, and indeed by the whole business of emancipation, of which the Catholic board and their missionary ally make such wonderful account. I will venture to assert, that if a traveller, passing through the south of Ireland, were to dine at the house of every Roman Catholic gentleman on his way, and take notes as he went along of the number of places in which the question of emancipation was a leading topic of conversation, he would, perhaps, at the end of his journey, find a blank for it; he would find everywhere something of local interest, some county concern, road jobbing, treasury jobbing, or constable jobbing, the

interesting topics; and, if he inquired about the merits of "the Association," he would find its proceedings generally condemned, and learn that it was permitted to mismanage the business it undertook only because the interest of the Catholic question has grown cold in people's mind, and because they have not sufficient regard for the government to attempt relieving its embarrassments.

Nothing could set in a clearer point of view the little influence which these demagogues and their press exercise over the minds of the people, than the indifference with which their railings were heard with respect to Dr. Magee's account of the Roman Catholic church. This celebrated antithesis, which, according to Captain Rock, "threw six millions of people into convul-
"sions," was, I solemnly protest (and I speak from a better knowledge of the country than the missionary's captain), *received without any bitterness of spirit*. I have conversed with many Roman Catholics on the subject, (for, at the time, it happened that our topics of conversation were not very numerous),

and I cannot call to mind a single instance in which there was any warmth of feeling displayed. *There was no gentleman of my acquaintance who had not heard Roman Catholic priests or bishops avow the doctrine of exclusive salvation*; and surely it was not to be wondered at, and they did not wonder, that a Protestant bishop protested that *he* (for he did not speak for any but Protestants) could not call *that* a religion, according to which, *he* must be damned. I solemnly protest, that the sentiment I heard expressed was, that Dr. Magee was perfectly right in stating to his clergy his opinions of a church which he considered in error; and that I heard, on one occasion, a very respectable Roman Catholic priest, in speaking of this celebrated Charge, pass the highest and most unaffected encomiums on *Dr. Magee's liberality*, and give instances of it as having been proved even since the Charge; and, by his silence, admit, that there was nothing in the expression at which the Catholic people ought to take offence. And thus, while the mass of the people remained perfectly un-

disturbed, the press was groaning with tirades against one of the most illustrious names of which Ireland can boast, and the government were given to understand that the people were in a state of fierce indignation.* Surely, then, it will be most me-

* I cannot pass away from this great name without offering my humble tribute of admiration to the exalted personage who bears it. Having spent, however little I may have profited by it, some short time in Dublin College, it was natural that I should share in the general enthusiasm with which Doctor Magee was regarded as the glory of our university. Afterwards it was my fortune to know how generally he was loved, and how much he merited the people's love, during his residence in the south as dean of Cork; and then to learn, that in the elevated station to which he was raised, to be the ornament and the defence of the Irish church, he became an object for the abuse of such men as the members of the Catholic Association. The charges against the archbishop were, that he was not of a noble family, and that he *spoke* his sentiments, (not that he ever *acted* harshly) with respect to the Roman Catholic church. To me, who come down from the mists of a most barbarous antiquity, in a feeling which makes me look upon the proudest Anglo-Irishman as of mere mushroom extraction, the talk about family seems ludicrous in the extreme. Doctor Magee, however, I could find, lived always, from his earliest days as a gentleman; but this

lancholy, and I may add, considering all these circumstances, most unreasonable, if the government, *instead of legislating for the country*, should frame their measures *according to the caprices of the Catholic board*; and if the Protestant clergy should go back dismayed from their bounden duty, because this body, whose existence is detached from the people and dependant on the press, will not cheer them in their endeavours.

It is not with any design of entering upon a religious controversy, that I have introduced the mention of Doctor Magee's name. I have nothing to do here with such a subject; but, if I understand the archbishop of Dublin aright, his "celebrated antithesis" intimates a very profound knowledge of the *political* state of the Roman Catholic church; and, at all events, it is in such a light that

has nothing to do with my subject. The charges against the archbishop had one good effect; they called out a defence of his Grace, in a letter addressed to his Excellency the Marquess Wellesley, a pamphlet of great force and beauty, and not more remarkable for either than for its unquestionable and unanswered truth.—*See* Appendix, N°. 1.

I regard it. I pronounce, then, that the "Roman Catholics have a church without a "*doctrine*;" and I proceed to consider the importance which ought to be attached to such a declaration. In order, however, to explain my meaning, it will be necessary for me to speak a little of myself—a duty which I shall endeavour to discharge as briefly as is compatible with my object.

I was brought up in the strictest submission to the church of Rome, and lived for many years its obedient votary. At length, as my reading extended, I began to be puzzled about points of doctrine; and, finding various high authorities in the church maintaining divers and contrary opinions, a doubt, at first rejected, but afterwards frequently recurring again, arose in my mind, whether these numerous disagreements did not in some measure invalidate the claim of the church to unity of doctrine. Then came the more distressing uncertainty as to *what* doctrine was *the truth*. Acts of councils I studied, voluminous church histories, and ponderous theological disquisitions,—all

good things—*but where was the authority?* I was told that the great advantage of the Roman Catholic church was, that it could quiet the scruples and doubts of all who sincerely desired to know the truth;—but how to find the urim and thummim by which the church announced her dogmas—that was the difficulty.

"The world was all before me where to "choose;" but the fine portly priest of my parish, who flogged his parishioners to "their duty," "cared for none of these "things," and, accordingly, I was obliged to make more extensive inquiries. I was told that councils were infallible—*but how was I to discover the sense of them, so as to be infallibly certain that I was not mistaken.* I was told that the catechism of the council of Trent contained all necessary knowledge, *but no council had examined and approved it.* I was told that there was an *unwritten* rule of faith in tradition, of which the church was the depository; but, of course, from this source of knowledge *I was excluded.* The end of my inquiry was, that the church of

Rome has *no doctrine*, and, of course, may adapt itself to all exigencies, and change with the times.

I will give an instance of one of my inquiries, because it is connected with my present design. I was anxious to know, whether *the church of Rome held the doctrine, that either pope or council could depose a heretic monarch, and free his subjects from their allegiance.* I sought an answer in "the Treatise "on the Church of Christ," written by Doctor Delahogue, professor of dogmatic theology in the college of Maynooth, and intended for the use of the divinity students. I will give the result of my inquiries as they were answered in this book; it will indicate the manner in which I was satisfied with respect to other particulars also; after which, I will not say, whether I had moral courage enough *openly* to renounce the errors which I had long held, and which many of my friends professed to hold; *but I will say, that I was perfectly satisfied, that the church of Rome is in error.* But to the point.—Doctor Delahogue commences his observa-

tions, by stating, that "many theologians "have denied, that in temporal matters, the "temporal power is independant on the spiri-"tual;" and that, with respect to the nature of the dependance, they held two opinions; one was, that the pope had a *direct power*, by which he could at pleasure depose any monarch; another was, that he had an *indirect power*, by which he could, for the interests of religion, depose any monarch who had injured, or was likely to injure the church. The doctrine of the direct power, he says, was held by all the ultra-montane (I suppose principally the Italian) clergy, until the time of Bellarmine, who denied the truth of this doctrine, but zealously maintained the *indirect power*; asserting, that although the pope could not deprive of temporal possessions as an ordinary judge, yet he could take away and bestow kingdoms as sovereign pontiff, for the good of souls. Doctor Delahogue, after mentioning these opinions, and observing that the contest is about words, the indirect and direct powers being

in fact the same, proceeds to examine the question, whether the pope has power to depose a sovereign.

The doctor at first announces his own opinion to be, that the church or pope has no such power, and argues against the various theologians who maintained the contrary. He next enumerates some of the cases by which they support their proposition, that the popes not only claimed, but were permitted to exercise a deposing power. I give the doctor's selection of cases:—

In the eighth century, Zecharias deposed Childeric king of the Franks, and crowned, in his stead, Pepin, father of Charlemagne.

800.—Leo III, gave the empire of the west to Charlemagne, which—

962.—John XII, transferred to the German princes, by crowning Otho.

1075.—Gregory VII, deposed Henry IV.

1160.—Alexander VIII, Frederic I.

1211.—Innocent III, the emperor Otho IV, and king John of England.

1245.—In the council of Lyons, without a dissent of the fathers, Innocent IV. deposed Frederic II.

1301.—Boniface VIII. by a bull, in which he claims power over all kings and kingdoms, deposed Philip the Fair.

To these cases, he says, there may be added various others in which popes bestowed kingdoms by their supreme power, as Adrian's grant of Ireland, and that of Africa by Alexander, to Ferdinand and Isabella, and his determining what should be the boundaries between the realms of Portugal and Spain.

From these cases, and many others of the same kind, Doctor Delahogue gives us to understand, *that many theologians hold the doctrine of the pope's deposing power.* He is, however, of a contrary opinion, and insists, that no such power was exercised by the bishops of Rome in the earlier times of the church; that the *exercise* of a power does not prove the *justice* of it; and that in many cases where the decrees of deposition are issued in the pope's name, they were pro-

bably acceded to by some temporal authority, &c. &c. With respect to the decrees of councils, he names four:—

First, 1179. The third of Lateran, against the Albigenses, which freed the subjects of heretics from all allegiance and fidelity.

Second, 1215. Fourth of Lateran; where the lands of heretic monarchs are taken away and given to those who may *exterminate*, (by which the doctor understands, EXPEL) the heretics in possession.

Third, 1414. Constance; where, in case of contumacy, punishment is, privation of dignity, *imperial, regal, cardinalship or pontificate.*

Fourth, Trent, session 25, also confiscates possessions.

I do not think it necessary to enter into the doctor's view of these councils; the reader may consult his book, from the 235th page; there is one evasion, however, which I cannot pass over. It is a logical distinction; according to which, where temporal and spiritual punishments *are denounced conjointly*, they are to be understood *as disunited*

in the infliction. Thus, where spiritual censures and temporal inflictions are denounced against the disobedient, the doctor argues, the spiritual censures are *intended for kings*, and the temporal castigation *for the feudatory princes of the empire*; but not for the kings, *except they themselves held in feud.* I refer to page 264, for *this very ingenious and important distinction*; and I refer to the words of the councils in the preceding pages, *as proof of its incorrectness.*

I do not enter into any investigation of the arguments by which the learned Doctor Delahogue endeavours to justify his dissent from the great body of theologians, who, by such arguments and decisions, *as the acts of the popes and the decrees of councils* maintained the doctrine of a deposing power. It is sufficient for my purpose to have it shown, by the doctor himself, *that the students in the college of Maynooth find this doctrine maintained by the great body of Catholic divines, avowed and acted upon by popes and councils, and denied by Doctor Delahogue, who has it very much at heart to prove,* (see page 363,)

" that in all things which the church proposes
" for belief about the supremacy (or primacy)
" of the Roman pontiff, there is nothing what-
" ever which can offend Protestants!!!"

I have reserved the notice of that council which appears to be the most embarrassing, that we may *consider*, without the tediousness of an unnecessary repetition, the difference between the manner in which Doctor Delahogue and his pupils may be disposed to argue. It is the council of Lyons, where, as the doctor observes, a decree was not, as on other occasions, made incidentally; *but in a council called for the express purpose of deposing Frederick the Second; the decree passed in the pontiff's name, in the presence of his council, after diligent deliberation with them, absolving by the apostolic authority entrusted to the pope, all his subjects from their allegiance.*

Doctor Delahogue thinks, that the council might consent to this act in silence, although they did not approve of the principle; and he thinks that, very probably, the previous deliberation to which the pope

alludes, might be a deliberation about the crimes of Frederick, but not about the punishment to be inflicted upon him. Such is the doctor's method of evading the force of this example. Now let us imagine how the students might reason. They might say, "Innocent the Fourth summoned a coun-" cil, to meet at Lyons, for the express pur-" pose of deposing the excommunicated " Frederick the Second; whether he ought " or ought not to be deposed is not the " question for us to decide; we are only to " determine what power the church claims " to have. The council, convoked for this one " purpose, met. The pope states in the de-" cree, that they *deliberated*, and deliberated, " of course, not merely on Frederick's ex-" cesses, but on the subject upon which they " were summoned, namely, Frederick's de-" position. The pope issues his bull, the " result of these deliberations, in the pre-" sence of the assembled fathers. In his " bull he states, that his decision is the re-" sult of this previous deliberation; and this " decision is an inhibition, by apostolic au-

" thority, to the subjects of Frederick,
" against yielding to him any obedience.
" If this claim, thus grounded upon apostoli-
" lical authority, were excessive, would not
" the fathers declare that they thought so?
" If such a claim were unwarranted, would
" they not protest against the purpose for
" which the council was held? And if the
" power, thus assumed, were not, generally,
" recognized by all Christian monarchs,
" would not the sovereigns of Europe so-
" lemnly deny the right of the pope to ad-
" vance any such pretension? What is one
" of the grand arguments upon which we
" rely for the purity of our faith? Is it not,
" that we do not find the errors, with which
" we are charged, protested against? What
" is the argument by which Doctor Dela-
" hogue refutes the doctrine of a difference
" between fundamentals and things not
" fundamental? Is it not, that the early
" fathers notice no such distinction, and
" that their silence proves that no such dis-
" tinction exists?" (*See* page 15 of the Treatise). " Surely, then, on the same prin-

" ciples, if the church did not claim a de-
" posing power, and if its claim were not
" generally recognized, it would have been
" impossible for the council, and the general
" church, and all christendom, to have re-
" mained passive spectators of a transaction,
" in which a pope claimed the right of de-
" posing, and a council, previously sum-
" moned, sanctioned his claim. To be sure,
" *individuals* have quoted scripture against
" the deposing power; *but popes and councils*
" *have quoted scripture in its favour.* While
" the church was feeble in the early times
" it may not have advanced its claims; but
" when it became powerful, and was firmly
" established (from the ninth century to the
" sixteenth) it maintained and enforced
" them. Bossuet is against the claims,
" Bellarmine in their favour. *Doctor Dela-*
" *hogue and Turnelius may dissent from such*
" *a doctrine; but it was the doctrine of the*
" *fathers of the church, during a continuance of*
" *seven hundred years; a doctrine acted upon*
" *by numerous popes; avowed in various*

" *councils, and submitted to by all the monarchs* " *in christendom.*" I will not continue such reasoning to its conclusion. I will not say, that the students finding, *all authority* on one side, and only *weak argument and vague conjecture on the other*, may conclude that Doctor Delahogue is only acting on the principles of those various theologians, whom he censures, who held, that the scriptural precepts, recommending moderation, *were to have power only so long as the church was feeble*; and that, on these principles, the doctor writes one part of his book *to remove suspicion from the minds of the Protestants*, and another for the *information of his pupils*; that (according to his own argument) his opinions are to be taken, " *divisim.*" Bossuet and Turnelius, and the fathers of the first four centuries, are to be considered *expedient for the present time*; but, *as soon as the church gains strength*, Bellarmine, and the fathers of the middle ages, and popes and councils, and the power of the keys, and the sword of St. Peter—I will not say that they apply

their arguments to an important case—that they say, " Ireland was granted by a pope to " *Catholic England*; and Ireland was severed " by a pope from *heretical England*;" I will not take upon me to say, that the students at Maynooth reason thus, and thus apply their reasonings, *because I have not learned from themselves that they do so*; but I put it to the reader, whether such reasoning is not *probable, and whether the state of Ireland, does not, in some measure, prove that it may be so applied.*

The same kind of information which I received about this doctrine, I received about *others. In fact, the result of all my inquiries went to show that even if it were possible for me to find out where the infallible authority of the church of Rome resided, and that I had before me the decrees which it promulgated, I should still be left to the guidance of a fallible authority for the understanding of such decrees.* Accordingly, since the church of Rome has only *fallible expositors of its infallibly published truths, there is no certainty, that any creature understands its doctrines aright, and*

*consequently they may be continually varying.**

With such preparation as is received in their collegiate studies, with the authority derived from their claim to be the ministers of an infallible church, with the freedom in doctrine which they may defend by the example and arguments of doctors and popes

* This argument is well put in the following passage, which I cannot resist the temptation of quoting at length:—

"Many pious and well disposed persons in the sixteenth century, considered, no doubt, the divisions of the reformed as a sure sign of the heresy of their opinions, and a natural consequence of abandoning the only true and infallible test of controverted points in Christian doctrine and discipline. There are not wanting, even at the present day, numbers whose attachment to the church of Rome is founded on a similar principle, and who feel a degree of satisfaction in a blind, but comfortable acquiescence in the spiritual direction of the pope, which they cannot conceive compatible with the rejection of that pontiff's authority, or an attachment to the doctrines of any of those multiplied sects which abound in Christendom. They seem to imagine that this confusion of creeds, is a judgment upon the presumption of those who would erect any spiritual tribunal in opposition to the court of Rome, similar to that which was visited upon the builders of the tower of

and councils, the Roman Catholic clergy go forth from their retreat to become the instructors of the Irish poor. To the poor their instructions are altogether confined; the Roman Catholic gentry hang very loosely on the authority of the church; and the coarse and vulgar manners of the clergy have rendered their society so disagreeable,

Babel, by the confusion of languages. It is rather unfortunate, however, for the Roman Catholics, that they are unable to show how these evils, which they so much deprecate, could be, reasonably, prevented. They pretend, indeed, that the only effectual mode of guarding against error, is to acquiesce in the pope's infallibility. But this will not do. If to preserve the unity of the church, and to prevent schism, this infallibility has been vouchsafed, we ought to expect that by this means, the unity of the church *has* been preserved, and schism *has* been prevented. Is this the fact? The fact is, that schism has been promoted, and the unity of the Church has been broken by it. Besides, even granting that the decisions of the church of Rome are infallible, how can men be infallibly certain that they are right in the interpretations they give them? Oh! but if any doubt should arise, it may be set at rest by another decision. This other decision is, however, liable to the same objection. And thus it is within the range of possibility, that one infallible certainty may require to be explained by a series of infallible certain-

that you scarcely ever meet them at a gentleman's table. It was not so formerly; many of the Roman Catholic priests were educated gentlemen, fitted to adorn and improve society; but the old priests are dying off, and a race is spreading over the country, at once arrogant and vulgar; irritated against the gentry who neglect them, and feeling it their interest, as well as their

ties without end: *that is, that men might be left in total uncertainty upon the subject.*

"The reader will perceive how little to the purpose it is to object to this, that such an event is very improbable. That is not, at present, the question. Even granting that the pope may, by his infallibility, correct mistakes as fast as they occur, how can this exempt his decisions from liability to be mistaken.

"We see, therefore, that it requires not only infallibility in the pope to decide authoritatively in matters of faith, but also infallibility in the people to judge aright of this decision. Without the latter, we shall in vain look for any efficacy from the former; for the Scriptures themselves are the dictates of an infallible Spirit; and are often as little liable to the charge of ambiguity as the decisions of popes and councils. It appears then, from the fact, that schism has not been prevented by this assumed infallibility. We may know, from the nature of the thing, that it must not necessarily be so prevented. And we may be satisfied, from experience,

inclination, to conform to the habits of the lower orders.

I do not believe that the Roman Catholic priests were at all instrumental in *exciting* the disturbances by which the country was agitated. I believe they would have been content that things should have gone on in the old course; and, so long as they were fairly supported, have taken no trouble to disturb the public peace. *But I think it would be contrary to all right reasoning, to expect, that a priesthood, left dependant upon the lower classes for their support, shall venture to oppose the political bias of the people who maintain them.* The Roman Catholic priests have no intercourse with the gentry of their own persuasion; the Protestant gentry and the government abandon them to their own devices; and their education has, I think, fitted them well for

that to be prevented at all, the condition of human nature must be altered."

"Agency of divine Providence manifested in the principal transactions, religious and political, connected with the history of Great Britain, from the Reformation to the Revolution."—(Page 199.)

receiving the popular notions of the Irish peasantry.

Doctor Doyle, in his pastoral letter to the Ribbonmen, intimates that his clergy did oppose their designs, or, rather, did censure them. He states, that although the clergy (I quote from memory) knew of the conspiracy for three years before it came to a head, they refused the rites of the church to all who would not renounce their wicked designs. This was certainly very kind to the government; but, if the clergy knew of the conspiracy, (which knowledge they did not communicate,) they knew also that the people did not much fear the withholding of these rites; because an opinion generally prevailed among them, *that "all Catholics who opposed the British "government in arms were entitled to the benefit "of a plenary indulgence."* The clergy must have known that such an indulgence was granted in the old time, and that there have been men among the Irish who have taught them to believe that it continues still in force. And, beside, the clergy may have known

that refusing the rites of the church was refusing only what the people would not receive, *as one of their oaths was, not to confess their sins for seven years, or, until they had triumphed,* except at the hour of death. The clergy, then, could have no opportunity of putting their threat in execution, except at an hour, when they have uniformly (and I think very properly) consented to suspend it.

But there are other cases where the rites of the church are withheld, and not readily restored. I knew a person to be excluded from the sacraments for three years, in consequence of having been in a Protestant church, at the wedding of two Protestant friends; I knew a person kept in this exclusion for seven years, because her husband, a Protestant, brought up his children in his own faith, and she either could not or did not oppose him successfully; I knew—but what need I multiply cases—I knew when a priest from the altar, reprobating the wicked conduct of his flock, descanting upon their mode of spending Sundays and holidays in riot and

licentiousness, and recounting the enormities of the past month, during which some murders had been perpetrated, I knew when he said, after a pause, and with terrific solemnity, "I would rather hear that you "*had gone to the church,* than that you were "guilty of such wickedness"—and a groan ran through the congregation, *who felt how much more tremendous than the guilt of murder, was the sin of attending at a place of Protestant worship.**

To any one acquainted with the state of the south of Ireland, such cases as these will appear mere ordinary occurrences, as they are; and being occurrences general and daily, it is not to be wondered at, that the

* It is a remarkable proof of the manner in which the priests sometimes conform to the wishes of the people, where they feel their power weak, and, perhaps an interesting feature in the Irish character, that the prohibition against joining in Protestant forms of prayer, is not in force against the burial service. I should also remark here, that the severe restrictions are, for the most part, confined to the country parts of Ireland; in large towns the clergy are not altogether so jealous, and they are better educated men.

discontent of the people is so frequently tinged by a religious hatred. Within latter years, the priesthood have become much more assiduous than they formerly were, in cultivating a spirit of disunion; they saw missionaries of various denominations spreading among the people, and at work to instruct them; and as they dreaded the influence of the Bible and the zeal of the preachers, they aroused themselves into a vigorous opposition. They set in action the dormant energies of their various religious orders; they learned the proceedings of their parish through means of agents bound to give them all information; they had tracts prepared in order to counteract the efficacy of missionary writings; and from the pulpit, and at the confessional, inveighed (violently, at least,) against all heterodox practices. About this time, the people began to give proofs of their discontent, unusually alarming; they began to feel that they were wretched, and to think that the fault was in their masters. I will not say that the clergy generally lent themselves to this feeling, and availed themselves of the people's discon-

tent, as a new means of separation from the Protestants. I know that Roman Catholic clergy did, from the altar, at very critical times, inveigh against the tyranny of the land owners. I know that there was an occasion upon which (in consequence of the menace of a Protestant gentleman, who threatened that he would represent to the government the manner in which the pulpit had been abused) a respectable Roman Catholic clergyman cautioned his flock against the inflammatory language they had then recently heard, and the flock dispersed *retaining their former opinions*. I knew when the late lamented Doctor Everard, Roman Catholic archbishop of Cashel—who has not heard of Doctor Everard? The accomplished gentleman; the scholar, the courtier, the most amiable of enthusiasts in favour of his church—I knew when he set himself to reform the conduct of the priests; when he would mitigate the rancour of their controversies; when he would direct the subjects for their public discourses, recommending such as might tend to the civilization of the people; and I

knew when he was *disobeyed*; and I knew when a vile faction swelled against him, because he censured a disobedient priest; and I knew when a creature of this faction knelt in the streets, (where multitudes frequently kneel to receive their bishop's benediction,) I knew when a creature, called a Roman Catholic, knelt down in the public street to pronounce an imprecation upon the head of one of the most amiable and pious men that ever adorned the church of Rome; and I knew the multitudes in the street to let this wretch pass away with impunity, and to see their bishop, overcome by the shock his feelings had received, unable to sustain himself.—Let not Doctor Magee value the railings against him. Let him think lightly, as it merits, of the vituperation of the Roman Catholic agitators; *their own church had one ornament in this country, and they trode it under their feet.* Doctor Everard's name lives in the memory of those who were happy enough to enjoy his friendship, or to feel the cheering influence of his society; but he was not adapted to the rude minds of those whom

it was his painful duty to govern; and they thwarted him through his life, and, in the end, they broke his heart, and paid a studied disrespect to his memory.

A different kind of men are, now a days, the chosen worthies of the church of Rome. Mr. O'Connell can rule it, Doctor Doyle can agitate it, poor Doctor Everard could but die for it. I own I cannot think, without bitter indignation, of his fate. Protestants honoured his memory; Protestants lamented the private and the public loss; but Roman Catholics were silent; and Doctor Doyle enjoys the popularity which Everard's purity and elegance chased away from him. Let the disturbers of public tranquillity enjoy the benefits of their adoption, and let the nation attend to the warning conveyed by such a rejection and by such a choice.

The conclusion which I would draw from the reasonings and the statements contained in the foregoing pages is, that the Roman Catholic clergy were not properly prepared for instructing the peasantry; that they were little concerned in making them good sub-

jects; and that, estranged from the society of the gentry, unattached by any favours to the government, and unqualified by their education, or early habits to value what was refined, they have accommodated themselves to the prejudices of the poorer classes, and, by their efforts to keep them secure from the contamination of Protestant society, contributed, much, to give the disturbances in the south that character which they have certainly acquired of religious hatred.

If they had only sided with the "Catholic "Association," it would not occasion me so much uneasiness; but they have the minds of the people very much under their controul; and the danger is, that while they profess to seek their object, in connection with that body, by constitutional means,* they know well,

* I think it right to state, that culprits at Limerick had promised to give information, and that after having had a conversation with the priest, they declined, and said, "that the priest knew all." Perhaps this may be contradicted. I mention another fact relative to the gaol of Limerick, merely to show that my knowledge of

that far different means are those on which their people rely. They would not, I believe,

circumstances enables me to defy contradiction. The priest appointed to attend the gaol refused to read the morning service, (the prisoners being almost exclusively Roman Catholics), because he was not sufficiently well paid for his trouble; *as he received only fourteen pounds out of the sixty which the county granted; the remaining forty-six being demanded by his bishop.* This was the reason assigned for his non attendance, whether true or false, I cannot say, but certainly he did not attend on the week day mornings, as the conditions of his chaplaincy required. This is the age of contradictions, so that I would not wonder to see my assertion denied; if it be, *that is, if the priest who was appointed chaplain, in his own name, deny the charge, I am at liberty to name my author.*

Of all the assertions and contradictions to which the controversies of the present day have given rise, the most extraordinary, and yet, perhaps, the most characteristic, is that respecting Roman Catholic burials. The Archbishop of Dublin had stated, that there was no instance remembered of service read by a Roman Catholic clergyman in a Protestant churchyard. To meet this assertion, Doctor Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, convoked his clergy, who expressed their surprise at the archbishop's assertion, and subscribed to a resolution by which they profess to contradict it. The resolution, which is well worthy of being preserved, is as follows:—

"That in every case in which we have been present

have made a rebellion; but when they saw it arising, they consented; and it is quite

" at the interment of Catholics in Protestant church-
" yards within the city of Dublin, the invariable prac-
" tice, until the late unfortunate interruption at St.
" Kevin's, was, that one of the clergy recited at the
" grave a form of prayer for the soul of the deceased;
" that the remaining clergy, if more than one were
" present, and sometimes the laity, joined in the re-
" sponses; and that, during the recital of it, both the
" Catholic clergy and laity remained with their heads
" uncovered, in a way that would be likely to attract
" the notice of all present!!!" I remember to have heard, that the court of Rome, apprehensive of the spread of Jansenism in this country, adopted the resolution of continually sending Jesuits amongst us; and I am free to declare, that there is no form of evasion mentioned by Pascal, which I think more characteristic of *the immoral wiliness* of that order than the resolution *to which a Roman Catholic prelate, and sixty-three of his clergy have subscribed their names.* " It was their " practice to pray whenever they were present!" *But were they ever present?* They had in their power to state a fact; they could have *named occasions on which they had officiated.* It was only in last September the " interruption" occurred; and if their memories could not furnish instances prior to that date, their assertion is little to be regarded. But they could have stated, in distinct terms, a great number of funerals at which they had officiated, *and we could have judged, whether the number proved a practice.* They made no such state-

natural, that their ambition should keep pace with the increasing prosperity of their cause;

ment. Why? Because they dared not. Because the *practice* was notoriously otherwise. Because even *they* could not pretend that the instances in which they appeared at the funerals of their deceased parishioners, bore a greater proportion to the whole number of interments *than one to a thousand*. So that, *so far from it's being their practice to officiate, it was not even their practice to* ATTEND *at the grave*. Here is a bold and a broad statement, in which, if I am wrong, I can be refuted and exposed; the truth of which, if I were called upon to support it in a court of justice, *I would undertake to prove by the evidence of the Roman Catholic clergy* themselves; and of the correctness of which, I shall only say at present, that I have satisfied myself by an accurate inquiry into what was the practice for the last fifty years *in the five most popish parishes in Dublin*; namely, St. Audeon's, St. Catharine's, St. Michan's, St. Paul's, and St. James's. With respect to all or any one of these, will the Roman Catholic clergy of Dublin venture to say, that it was *their practice to attend* the funerals of deceased persons of their communion? And if not, with what confidence can they assert, that it was *their practice to officiate* at the grave? They may have attended without officiating, but they could not officiate if they did not attend. I am very willing to believe, that there have been cases in which they sometimes so attended. When a *rich* man died it is very possible that they may have contributed to swell the pomp of his funeral; and, perhaps, also pronounced a prayer

and that, when they see the government wasting itself upon clamours idly raised,

over his grave. This, I say, is a *possible*, I do not know it to be an *actual*, or believe it to have been a *frequent* occurrence. But, even admitting it to be so, *can it be said to prove the practice?* No; unless we reverse the order of things, and mistake *for the rule, the rare exception.* I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because it is right that the minds of the people of England should be disabused of the falsehood which has been so audaciously and so malignantly put into circulation; viz. that the present Archbishop of Dublin was the first to interfere with "the practice of the Roman "Catholic priesthood in officiating at Roman Catholic "funerals." The statement is false in every particular; the *interference* did not take place as described, nor was the *practice* as represented. Will the Roman Catholic clergy excuse me for asking them, here, one or two questions? What is it that makes this practice, about which so much has been said, of such importance? Is it not that *they* are persuaded that the prayers which they offer up on those occasions, are not only a consolation to the living, but a benefit to the dead? *Why then have they remained hitherto contented to use this precious privilege in the case of the rich only, while they have suffered the poor to be buried, as they themselves now say, "like dogs?"* Have not the poor souls to be saved as well as the rich; and is not the funeral service *as necessary* for the one as for the other? And if no epithets have been thought too gross to stigmatize the Archbishop of Dublin for having been supposed to have

while, at the same time, the object of real importance is growing in the unmarked pro-

prevented it in the case of the rich, what may not be thought of those who systematically neglected it in the case of the poor? *Thus practically evincing that what they could dispense with, without difficulty, from a love of ease, they could not dispense with from a love of charity; and that the rites of sepulture, which were unimportant as an instrument of salvation or a means of grace, were only considered important as a means of agitation?* While even those who contend that these rites were sometimes performed in the case of the rich, must yet acknowledge that they were systematically neglected in the case of the poor, they will labour in vain to get rid of the imputation, that it is faction and not piety that at present actuates them to stickle so much for their observance.

But the document proceeds to say, that, *on these occasions*, the people remained with their "heads uncovered."—"On *these* occasions!" Is it meant by this, that we should suppose the people to remain with uncovered heads "*on these occasions only.*" If such an assertion were distinctly made, it would at once be spurned as a base falsehood; if such an inference be implied, I suppose it cannot be *called by any harsh name*, although we may feel something like contempt and abhorrence. "With their heads uncovered!" I am in the habit of attending funerals frequently, and I never yet saw an instance in which, if the deceased was a Roman Catholic, there were not some uncovered heads, often a great many, *although no clergyman was*

gress of time, they should more and more closely identify themselves with the interests

engaged in prayer; for the people constantly pray of themselves. What are we to think of such propositions, and of the men who make them; who act as if they seek to derive all the benefit of falsehood against the Protestants, and at the same time shun the disgrace of detection amongst their own flocks. They are well seconded by the "Association." The prelates and the clergy would not give their names to a lie, for the world. *They* tell a plain truth, that when they were present they prayed; and if the Protestants are fools enough to think, that they were in the practice of being present, surely Doctor Murray is not responsible for their want of judgment. He has not told a lie, for he made no categorical assertion; he said, "when he "was present he prayed;" but he asserted neither part of his proposition "divisim," (I believe that is the term.) He may say, if upbraided with a falsehood, Did I say, I was present? or, Did I say I prayed? No; he is safe: *and, if our actions are to be considered without reference to their motives, his honour and his conscience are untouched.* But the association come forward with a more fearless although perhaps a blundering candour. Like the mock doctor in the farce, they have reversed the order of past years; "we have changed all that;" "It "was the custom to pray, &c. &c." They saw the clergy in a difficulty, and, unable to extricate them by their talents, they attempt to bear them through by their audacity. "I have not your ingenuity," said a poor Irishman to the heroine of a novel, when in a very

of the cause upon which the glory of their order and their personal aggrandizement may ultimately depend.

awkward dilemma, "I have not your ingenuity to get "you off, but if an oath can be of any use, it is at "your service!!!"

CHAPTER IX.

ROMAN CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION—DR. DOYLE, &c.

IT may be asked, upon what principle the respectable Roman Catholics of Ireland remain passive spectators of the proceedings of that class of persons by whom their cause is so much injured, and their religion so much disgraced? It might be inferred, from their inactivity, that they tacitly approve of conduct against which they enter no protest, and which they make no exertion to keep within the bounds of moderation. Such an inference would be erroneous in the extreme. The Roman Catholic gentry do not interfere, because they cannot stoop to the practices which would gain them an influence over the vulgar, and because they will not dignify, by their opposition, the measures which a rabble may adopt. I remember when, on the occa-

sion of a county meeting, the business of debate was regulated by the exertions of five men hired for the purpose, and having drank whiskey enough to give them what was called "priming." The leader of these was a decayed barber, blind and deaf; he did not know when he was to shout; but the master of the ceremonies stood beside him with a pin in his hand; and it was almost appalling to see him, when he was pricked into consciousness, start into an energetic manifestation of his dormant powers, and roll his sightless orbs, and raise a voice loud as that of fifty men, and yelling in a thousand hideous intonations, from the deepest and most rumbling bass, to a treble which would set the teeth on an edge: and so little was the fellow concerned about friend or enemy, that the next day, he professed himself ready to name the person who had hired him. I remember when Mr. Shiel entertained opinions different from those he at present expresses, and when he could not, by all his exertions, obtain a moment's cessation from the hissings and hootings with which

his sentiments were received. To what purpose, then would the gentry mingle with the persons who are thus mismanaging Roman Catholic concerns? They would only serve to swell the pride, without improving the manners of the association; and if they undertook to form a more temperate and respectable committee of management, some of the demagogues would thrust themselves in amongst them, and introduce violence and the mob. Much more wisely, therefore, they stand apart; and it is reasonable to expect, that when England shall see that the agitators are only such persons as have neither character nor property to lose, she will not identify the cause of the Roman Catholics with the conduct of those who trade upon their distresses.

The Irish Roman Catholics may be divided into three classes, viz :—the gentry, who feel themselves excluded by their integrity and refinement from all concern in the political movements of the day; the members of the association and the rabble routs of the

towns which they bring together, whenever they are in want of an audience; and Captain Rock's men, or the country party, who, if they ever think about the speeches and proceedings of the board, regard it as a kind of innocent foolery, and consider, with Corporal Trim, one home thrust of a bayonet or a pike worth all such trumpery. But there are wiser heads amongst the peasantry, of whom the government ought to be apprehensive; and *they* can see that there are purposes to which the Catholic Association may be usefully applied. It is useful in engaging the attention of the government, while the real mischief is secretly working its way; it is useful in keeping excluded from the management of Roman Catholic affairs, a gentry, whose interest it would be, that their claims should be granted, and whose deportment would be such as to procure for them a favourable hearing; and it is useful in keeping alive a discontented and repining spirit in a large class of persons, whom it would not be prudent to entrust, at present,

with the grand secret, and who are thus prepared to receive it, when the time for such communication has arrived.

It is worthy of remark, that it is to this body the Roman Catholic clergy have attached themselves; not that it is, in the least, extraordinary to find persons of the same habits uniting in the same proceedings, but because it indicates in some measure a departure from the retired line of conduct which the ecclesiastics in latter times have thought it proper or prudent to observe. Of these persons, the great and acknowledged leader is Doctor Doyle, who has written under the signature, J. K. L. He is the luminary of the church to which he belongs, and he is the élévé of the Catholic Association. The doctor wrote a book, which he entitled, "A Vindication "of the Catholics of Ireland;" and, in order to prevent any hardy wight from daring to dispute the merit of this production, which, it was expected, would shake the government to its centre, the patriotic association bravely spread their protection over it, and invested

it with the majesty of their illustrious name. Now who dares object to Doctor Doyle's book? or call his "Vindication" intemperate and ill-judged? Now who dare say that the doctor neither reasoned nor conciliated, but, in the true Cambyses vein, "was spouting "Ercles rarely, or a part to tear a cat in." Let all the world be hushed in wonder, for the great Doctor Doyle has spoken, and the Catholic board have approved.—"Are "you satisfied with this play?" said a tall Connaught man to a gentleman who was yawning in the pit at Covent Garden; "Oh "yes, Sir!" said the gentleman, very wisely, though a little surprised at the fierceness with which he was addressed; "Is your "frind satisfied?" with equal brogue, but mitigated ferocity; "Equally with myself." —"Because this play was wrote by my "cousin, and any one that is not satisfied "with it, I'm ready to satisfy him myself "at three minutes notice, so that's all "about it."

Awful, however, as the implied menace of the Catholic Association must have appeared,

there were those who thought, that it ought not to prove a protection or secure an uncontradicted circulation for falsehood and virulent invective; and there were two writers bold enough to oppose argument and eloquence to the assertions which the Catholic board had stamped with the currency of their approbation. These writers (if report speak truth) were young, otherwise, perhaps, they would have shunned to provoke the disapprobation of that august body; and they were sanguine enough to hope that truth, and an honest intention, and an unblemished life, would be powerful to protect them, in the estimation of good men, against even the board's displeasure. The controversy, which originated in this manner, is not by any means to be regarded in the light of a disputation between ecclesiastics of different communions. *It is important in a political point of view,* as furnishing a very striking indication of the state of parties in Ireland. I must, therefore, according to the task I have imposed upon myself, bestow some pages upon it.

Any one who has been a resident in the country parts of Ireland, and who has been driven to the various resources by which the tedium of an inactive life is sometimes beguiled, may have observed, that, about seven years since, a considerable change began to take place in the nature of the little penny tracts and ballads with which the itinerant pedlars were supplied. Whether it was, that the priesthood (in opposition to the attempts at proselytism) had the new kind printed, I cannot say; but the fact is certain, that love songs and stories were no longer the principal wares of the book-venders; and that stories of martyrs' deaths, and judgments and executions of obstinate heretics, and miracles performed in the true church, were now in very general circulation. By one class of these productions, the animosity of the faithful was whetted against the b——y Protestants; in another, they learned how heretics ought to be treated; and the miracles lifted their minds high above the region in which missionaries could work to make them proselytes; and

sustained them by a hope, that, at last, God would fight for them and exterminate their oppressors. At the same time prophecy, the constant resource of a depressed people, afforded them its consolations. Pastorini, circulated in various forms, verbally and in print, became a favourite study; and those who could not procure the book, but who were instructed in the principles of it, often gave the members of the Bible society hope of making converts, from the readiness with which they received the Testament, of which they scarcely read any part but the Revelations. I remember when a house at my gate was a place of rendezvous for numbers to meet together, and read. I heard of the meetings, and of the delightful reading with which they were entertained, and I went one night to join them. The book was Pastorini, but the comments were their own. They had no hesitation to speak to me on the subject. Their world was the country which they knew; and they could, accordingly, state where every event was to take place, and how every thing was to be transacted,

within one day's journey of the house in which they were reading.

At the time to which I allude, the peasantry were willing to converse freely on the subject of the prophecies; they held the notion, that in the year 1825, or, according to some, in an earlier year, all things were to be restored; but they spoke the opinion fearlessly, because, they imagined, all was to be done by the miraculous power of God; and they were only to "stand "still, and see the salvation of the Lord." They have of late become more reserved upon this subject; whether it be, that the "hereditary bondsmen," have learned that

"Who would be free—themselves must strike the "blow,"

or from some other cause, I cannot say, but they have certainly, on a sudden, become more reserved than they were in former years. They still continued to read and study the prophecies, as I learned from sure though incidental intimations, but they no longer freely conversed upon them.

The people were in this state of mind when

Doctor Doyle, who had, in a pastoral letter, attempted to shake their faith in the prophecies, published, ex-officio, an account of the miracle wrought on Miss Maria Lalor; and immediately, under the sanction of this authorized wonder, signs and prodigies innumerable were reported among the people.* They had often before, got up little miracles of their own, but these were discountenanced by the clergy. Now, however, they had a miracle authorized by Doctor Doyle himself. To be sure he had told them that Pastorini was not to be regarded; but what of that, did not he now tell them, that a miracle was wrought for the encourage-

* I remember when immense crowds went to be healed of their infirmities at the grave of a priest. The only wonder I saw was in the case of a dumb boy, into whose mouth a quantity of clay was thrust; the poor boy uttered some indistinct and inarticulate sounds, and the woman who officiated crossed herself and cried out, "Oh! God presarve us! do you hear how he says, 'let me go home! let me go home!'" Next day every one had the benefit of the miracle, except the poor boy on whom it was performed, and who remains dumb still. The priests forbade the people to be cured at this grave.

ment of the faithful? was not this the year 1823? in two years should they not have the heretics exterminated, and what was this miracle but the commencement of the mighty works by which the Lord would make his people successful? Presently after came Doctor Murray's miracle; and report said, that there were many other miracles in reserve, which Doctor Doyle, in consideration for the British government, refused to legitimatize.*

* See the vindication, page 43. The writer of "the "Observations," comments upon the passage in the following manner:—

"I have now disposed of most of the topics upon which J. K. L. has thought it necessary to enlarge in his tirade against the established clergy. But what will be the surprize of the reader when, after all this, he lays claim to the character of a man of peace! and expects to receive much credit for the degree in which he and his reverend brethern have been instrumental in tranquillizing the minds of the people. The proof which he gives of this is singular. He has forborne, he says, from motives of peace, to publish *other undoubted miracles!!!* This is good. But why, we may reverently ask, were they performed? He tells us in another place, *that no miracles are to be attended to unless sanctioned by the authority of the bishop.* And he withholds his sanction,

The Protestants beheld, at first with scorn or pity, afterwards with alarm, this new ingredient thrown into the cauldron. They saw how the public mind was affected; they saw what numbers of credulous persons yielded an assent to the absurd doctrines which were now promulgated, and in how many cases men, notoriously of infidel

forsooth, from motives of peace, from what he believes to be the most signal attestation which Almighty God can give to the truth of his religion! Where would Christianity be at the present day if the apostles had acted on this principle? Miracles are performed, but they are not to be credited! God speaks in thunder, but the people are commanded to stop their ears!—This is certainly carrying a love of peace to an extreme, for which J. K. L. cannot be accused in any other part of his pamphlet. How must Lord Wellesley feel flattered and obliged by having the honour of God thus postponed to the convenience of his administration! How grateful should the Protestants feel for this considerate suppression of what they must have felt as the death warrant of their system! But how is J. K. L. to excuse himself *to good Catholics* for all this? Come, come; he is too hard upon himself. He is not so bad, by one half, as he would make himself appear. For although he has withheld his sanction from the miracles, he has not abated one particle of the hostility with which he regards the heretical establishment against which

opinions, lent themselves to the popular delusion. It gave them a convincing proof of the abject superstition in which the people were grovelling, and they began to entertain serious apprehensions of the consequences that might ensue, when multitudes assembled together under such a delusion, and with all the enthusiasm of character which it denoted.

they are directed. Nor can he be fairly charged with diminishing, in any undue degree, the rapacity and the vengeance of its enemies, when he misrepresents the nature of its property, when he misrepresents its amount, when he misrepresents its effects upon agriculture, when he misrepresents its effects upon society, and represents the law by which it is secured, 'as wanting the 'essential conditions of a law,' and as opposed to the laws of God and nature; and describes its clergy as wretches, who are marring all the efforts of the gentry to improve, enrich and harmonize the country; and says, that murders and atrocities, which would "for "ever stain the character of the nation, harden its heart "and brutalize its feeling, are occasioned or committed "by their agents!!!" When, while sedition is raging in the south, Dr. Doyle thus unfurls the oriflam, and pronounces what amounts, virtually, to a benediction on the insurgents, the very worst enemies of the church, will, I think, forgive him for "*having suppressed the* "*other undoubted miracles.*"

While people's minds were in this state, the promised "Vindication" appeared, and was hailed with the most clamorous acclamations by the party whose purposes it suited. It consisted principally of declamation on the wrongs and sufferings of the Irish Roman Catholics, and avowals of immitigable hatred towards the church establishment; it contained also a justification of Dr. Doyle's conduct relative to the cures, with a statement of the doctrines which his church held on the subject of miracles; and it proposed to Lord Wellesley, to whom it was addressed, the expediency *of abolishing tithes, and depriving the Protestant church of all landed revenue, as the best mode of quieting Ireland.* How the enriching a race of landlords, whom he had himself described as the cause of all his country's miseries, could contribute to the public tranquillity, and quiet the suffering poor (who could have no share in the wealth of which the church was to be deprived) he did not think it necessary to explain; and it certainly had an extraordinary appearance, that a bishop

should pray, not to have the people's wants relieved, but to have his own hatred gratified. I remember well having read the "Vindica-"tion" with the greatest attention, and having conversed about it with a highly intelligent Roman Catholic gentleman, and we, neither of us, could discover a single argument in support of the doctor's request, that the church should be deprived of its revenues. So that, one might fairly infer, since the only proposed advantage was, that a revengeful passion should be gratified, Doctor Doyle's spleen was to be considered the cause of all the misery of Ireland.*

* "The arguments of J. K. L. or confessions of Mother Church, are of a novel nature, as we are told by a high authority: their exordium is certainly in a novel style. Your Excellency will allow me to transcribe the words:—

"Tithes in this country, my lord, should always "have been odious; they were the price paid by "Henry II, and the legate Paparo, to the Irish prelates, "who sold for them the independance of their native "land, and the birth-right of their people: until that "period, tithes were almost unknown in this country, "and from the day of their introduction, we may date "the history of our misfortunes; they were not the only

After some time, and within the same week, two answers appeared to the bishop's violent letter; one entitled, "Observations on the "Letter of J. K. L." &c. &c. and containing an animated review of the entire production; the other called, "The Case of the Church of "Ireland, by Declan," confined, principally, to the doctor's invective against the church,

"cause, but they were an efficient one, of all the "calamities which followed; and whilst they subsist "peace and concord will not be established in "Ireland."

"An orator yourself, by nature, and by the discipline of our most illustrious school, your Excellency is prepared against the arts of orators; yet you must have at least admired the bland and wily dexterity with which this master labours to win you over to his side. The viceroy of a British Sovereign is called upon to acknowledge, that tithes should have always been odious in this country; and the argument employed is, that they are historically connected with the introduction of British power: he is informed, that the history of Irish misfortunes may be dated from the day of their establishment, that is, from the first act of the British dynasty; and, in conclusion, he receives a warning, or a threat, or a prophecy, that while they continue, there will be no peace or concord in Ireland. J. K. L. is an intelligent man, and, as far as technicisms can make one, a rhetorician; but, if he be averse to British con-

of which it gave a very able defence. With the merits of these replies I have nothing to do—the reader may judge of them even from the few extracts which my pages contain; and of their effects he can form an opinion, by comparing the subdued tone of Doctor Doyle's "Defence," written in answer to them, with the intemperance of his "Vindi-"cation." The latter indicates the confusion and alarm of a man who had unthinkingly precipitated himself upon danger, and who would not brave it, and knew not how to escape from it. Whoever reads the "De-"fence," can scarcely fail to be struck with the manner in which the doctor shrinks from all political subjects—how he droops from

nection, it is only natural, that, on the subject of tithes, his associations should be too firmly linked to be dissevered by Quintilian, or a sense of decorum. In the mean time, those who differ from J. K. L. will be excused, it is hoped, for equal consistency. It was said by a celebrated legal character, that "tithes were the great stay of our connection with England; and the saying does credit to his penetration," &c. &c. &c.—Case of the Church of Ireland, Declan, first letter, page 12—13.

the lion or tiger port in which he had assailed—and how anxiously he looks towards every loop-hole of retreat, and intimates vain wishes that he had contented himself with a more modest line of duty than that of pulling down establishments. It is curious to see how he labours to propitiate the landlords whom he before so violently assailed. In the "Vindication" they were the oppressors and tormentors of the people—but in the "Defence" they are "an aristocracy"—"Corinthian pillars of the social edifice," &c. &c. It is curious to compare his arguments on miracles in the one, with his manner of disputing in the other;* and it is very important to observe the admission which has been extorted from him by the stinging arguments of Declan, with respect to the catechisms adopted or allowed by the church of Rome.†

But, independantly of this change in the very reverend doctor's demeanour, he has,

* *See* Appendix, N° 2.

† Declan's remarks in the Preface to his Second Letter on the various Catechisms. *See* Appendix, N° 2.

even in his "Vindication," given us some important information with respect to the manner in which the administration of the church of Rome is conducted. I said before, that the grand peculiarity of that church, regarding it in a political light, is, that, *having no doctrine*, it can always make the tenets it, for the time, professes, subservient to the purposes for which it is labouring. At present, let us suppose the object to be, to exhibit the church of Rome in such a light as may be likely to gain for it the favour of the Protestants, or, at least, to allay their fears;—the council of Trent is, perhaps, the least objectionable of all the councils, and it is to this council, accordingly, that Doctor Doyle refers, as containing the whole doctrine of his church; *although he must have known, that, in the "profession of "faith" required by Pope Pius the Fourth, the promise of obedience to the pope was connected with a profession of believing in the decrees of all other councils, as well as chiefly in those of the council of Trent*; and although he knew well, that, as that council made the

rule of faith to consist of an unwritten as well as a written law, and allowed no sense of the written except what the church approved, it left the doctors of the church of Rome at full liberty to adopt what doctrines they pleased, and *made it impossible for an inquirer ever to find out what the doctrines of the church really were.* But this is a trifling evasion in comparison with that which I am about to expose. Doctor Doyle, addressing his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, says—"Our creed, my lord, is "short—all we believe is embodied in the "profession of faith published under the "name of Pius IV." This, it will be recollected, was the catechism ordered by the council of Trent to be compiled for the use of the faithful. Now let the reader attend to what follows:—Doctor Doyle, having been pressed in argument by some persons who accused his church of denying the scriptures to the laity, and who instanced an index expurgatorius, in which the Bible was named as a forbidden book, reasons thus;—"It "was to check, as far as possible, such evils

" as I have here sketched, that a committee " of the council of Trent, in its 18th session, " was appointed to consider and report to " the council, of the books which were then " in circulation, and what regulation ought " to be adopted with regard to them. The " report of the committee was not made " until the last day of the last or 25th " session, and as the synod could not then " discuss the subject of the report, they re- " ferred it to the pope. The index, there- " fore, or list of books to be prohibited, with " the rules annexed, were not *sanctioned by* " *the council of Trent*, and that which was " afterwards published by the pope, and " which includes such translations of the " sacred Scriptures as were not approved of " by the proper authority, has not the force " of a church law, unless in those countries " where it has been published and received." Thus the reader finds Doctor Doyle stating, that the entire doctrinal belief of the Roman Catholics—" All, we believe," is contained in the catechism of Pope Pius IV, (Vindication, page 24); and again declaring that

an index is not of authority because it was only ordered, but "*not sanctioned by the "council of Trent.*"—(Page 65.) *Now I will quote from the decree of that council the part relating to both "index and catechism"—by which it will appear that it* SANCTIONED NEITHER. After reciting the appointment of a committee to prepare the index, and stating the employments which prevented them from examining it, the decree proceeds to direct that it be submitted to the pope for his sanction, and that the same proceeding be adopted with respect *to the catechism*; "præcipit, ut quidquid ab illis præstitum "est, sanctissimo Romano Pontifici exhi- "beatur, ut ejus judicio, atque auctoritate "terminetur et evulgetur. *Idemque de cate-* "*chismo* à patribus quibus illud *mandatum* "fuerat."*

What is the meaning, then, of such reasoning as this? The index is not of authority because not sanctioned by a council; *and the catechism, in precisely the same circumstances,*

* See the decree at the end of the 25th session.

is to be received as authority. Suppose Doctor Doyle, speaking only of himself, and declaring that *his belief* is limited by the doctrines contained in the catechism, and we may believe him. But he is speaking for six millions of people (as the orators say); his book is "a Vindication of the religious "and civil principles of the Irish Catholics," and, considered with respect to this people, we have a right to regard the doctor's assertions in the light of evasion and double-dealing. The Roman Catholics are *not bound* to observe the index because no council has sanctioned it—and yet their rule of faith, their entire doctrine, is to be found by Protestants in an *unsanctioned catechism.* What can we think of a system so variable, so pliable, so readily conformable to the purpose of dogmatism and of evasion?—"Un-"stable as water—it shall not excel."

There is, however, a quibble remaining, which, in any other circumstances, one would be ashamed to notice, but which is not too contemptible for the adoption of such persons as Doctor Doyle's admirers. These

persons might say, that the index was not of authority, because it had not been published and received in Ireland, and that the catechism having been received (among a people of whom not one in ten thousand know so much as its name) has become an authority. *Doctor Doyle would not say this, because he knows that although the receiving an indifferent article of "discipline" may authorize it, the case is quite different with respect to articles of* DOCTRINE. He knows that no church in any country has a right to frame a system of doctrine for itself, or to receive any system other than that which the universal church holds; and consequently, he knows—in his heart he knows,—that the catechism of Pius the Fourth is not more conclusive with respect to the doctrines of his church, than the index *which he declares to be of no weight or authority*. What can be the design, then, of the obvious duplicity with which he claims for his church the benefit of rejecting any offensive law which has not emanated from a council directly, and, at the same time, sends Protestants to an article

of no higher authority, to look for the doctrines of his people?

I have dwelt upon this subject, not for the sake of furnishing arguments against the repeal of the penal laws, but for the purpose of showing the Roman Catholics why it is, that their claims may be, without any bigotry, resisted. The Protestants collect, from all the testimonies of history, that the church of Rome was of old an enemy to civil freedom; and they imagine that there is reason to believe it, at the present day, equally averse to liberal and enlightened principles, and that it has learned, by its misfortunes, wiliness rather than wisdom. The Protestants know, that the religion of the church of Rome has always been a principle of disunion between this country and England; and they do not find in the "Vindication" of that religion reason to think, that this principle has become inoperative *. The

* *See* Declan's first letter, page 82. "Has their hierarchy tried to exorcise this spirit of delusion? Your Excellency has seen the pastoral letter of the ablest and most influential man among them. What, my lord,

Protestants see that whatever be the doctrines avowed, the church of Rome has always *a reserve in "tradition,"* by which it can at any time neutralize the efficacy of all charitable expressions, and infuse a new spirit into the religion. The Protestants find, that a Roman Catholic bishop, vindicating his church from the charge of holding dangerous

was the *under current* in that well known address? The peasantry were, indeed, exhorted to forgive, *but special care was taken that they should not forget.* They were told how divine it was to endure persecution; but they were told also, how natural it was to resist it. As in a loose poem, imagination was enlisted in opposition to duty, and the moral left to the mercy of the stimulated passion. Querulousness was echoed, discontent justified, and deprecation converted into the most inflammatory incentive. Finally, my lord, it is the same spirit, which breathes in the letter of J. K. L. himself. He addresses your Excellency, joining, as he says in the general opinion of your noble efforts 'to establish a system of harmony and good will,' (page 6,) between the different parties of the country: but even this theme is too exalted for him; he turns to another, 'more humble, and therefore more becoming his station and habits of life;' he does this that he may 'guard the small portion of the public mind that deliberates from being biassed by a profusion of religious frenzy and political hate. And what are the topics

political opinions, refers for its doctrines to a council, which expressly asserted its right to pronounce princes, kings and emperors degraded and deposed *; and it cannot be wondered at that they should conclude, that, when such is the case made out in a "Vin-" dication," it becomes incumbent upon them to guard, with great vigilance, the blessings of their noble constitution, and to take care how they entrust increased power into hands, which they may thus be arming against it.

Most sincerely do I wish, that the claims of the Roman Catholics could be wisely

selected by this meek apologist, this soothing and pacific moderator? On the one hand, spoliation, scourging, slavery, the devastation of a country, invasion of its sanctuary;' (pages 7, 8, &c.); and on the other, 'the justice and wisdom of retaliation, sanctioned by the laws of nature and of God;' (pages 30, 33, 35, &c. &c.) Amidst all this revolting incongruity, I do not believe that J. K L. had a deliberate intention of becoming a bravo to your Excellency, or an incendiary to the people; he seems to have yielded honestly, though, (as he may now think) indiscreetly, to his very best impulses of religion and patriotism."

* *See* Decree, 25 session, chapter 19.

discussed without petulance on one side or prejudice on the other; and bitterly do I deplore the necessity that has been laid upon our times, of either granting benefits which have been so long withheld, or withholding them still. But, however anxious I may be, that the claims of the Roman Catholics could be safely granted, I cannot think that the "penal laws" have had any direct influence in causing the disturbances of the country, or that the repeal of them would conduce to the speedy restoration of tranquillity. The penal laws have served the cause of lawless violence, only so far as, by keeping down the spirits of the people, they sunk them into deeper poverty and consequent recklessness of living. But the repeal of these laws would have no present effect upon their condition, and of course no salutary influence on the state of the country. Let nobody therefore suppose, that a measure should be precipitated from any regard to the harangues and exertions of the Catholic Association.—Let no one imagine, that their operations have the least influence on Captain Rock's asso-

ciates. The members of the association are not worthy of the Captain's notice; he is no friend to half measures; and these persons would not put more than the sole of their feet towards the Rubicon. The people in the country were certainly influenced by the association of 1814, because they knew it to consist of gentlemen; but the Irish peasantry are shrewd; and when they see this body, consisting only of Mr. O'Connell and his retainers, they regard very little the proceedings of a board, in which they think there is but one individual more respectable than themselves.

Let the legislature, then, exclude from their minds altogether, the speeches and writings of the intemperate Roman Catholics, as exercising any influence over the country.—Again and again, I say, that Captain Rock despises such old wives confabulations. Let the question of Catholic emancipation be discussed on its own naked merits; let the boon be granted at its own proper time; and let not the desire of extinguishing the association hasten the measure by a single day.

Ireland must always expect to have brawlers in her streets, as long as the curse or blessing of poverty remains upon her. According to the characters over whom the sway of this great power extends, the operation of it will be various: some it will send forth into highways and places of crowded resort, to exhibit themselves in the face of day; some it causes to seek the shade, and to tell out their sorrows to the night and the silent heavens. *Let the government take care of these*; let them watch well those deeds which shun the light. As to the association, let it be left to itself; it is perfectly harmless in its wisdom and its eloquence. Its existence depends altogether upon the newspaper reporters; and if it should dare to offend them, they could terminate its existence by one week's silence.

That I may finish my consideration of this part of my subject, I think it advisable to state here the probable advantages of Mr. Plunkett's bill. According to his propositions, the veto (and perhaps this almost implies the appointment of Roman Catholic

bishops) would be vested in the crown. It would be the interest, therefore, of all the leading Roman Catholic clergy to stand well with the government, and of course, the character of a liberal priest would become much more general than it is. The Roman Catholic gentry are very little addicted to the narrow views of their creed; and the poor people, (if I may judge from the attention they pay to the Protestant service at funerals, and their anxiety to enter the church on those occasions) would readily avail themselves of the permission, tacit or expressed, of their clergy to attend the prayers of the church of England. If this were generally the case, the acrimony of contending parties would be very much softened; and, whether there were proselytes made or not, there would, in all probability, be friends made. And if the clergy of the church of Rome were paid by the government (which they ought to be in any case, for many reasons,) and care taken that there should be no increase of the mendicant orders, we would no longer have that kind of opposition that now exists to all

liberal views and principles; the Roman Catholic priesthood would become gradually more respectable; and, as they would blend with the higher classes in society, there could be little reason to apprehend, that they would yield themselves to the fomenting of acrimonious and turbulent feelings and passions among a people upon whom they were no longer dependant, and with whom they were no longer to be confounded in manners and in principles. Mr. O'Connell, to be sure, threatens a rebellion, if such a measure as Mr. Plunkett's be carried; but it would be strange, indeed, if the vigilance and the power of the government were not more powerful than Mr. O'Connell's most impudent and childish prediction. Rebellion will be the consequence of far different causes.

I have been led into these speculations, or rather practical remarks on the church and the penal laws by the "Memoirs of "Captain Rock." This work has been attributed to Mr. Moore but (I am inclined to think) attributed to him by some "trick of

" the trade," rather than that he was in truth the author. It certainly has some of his beauties, and is marked also by his peculiar faults. It has his ardent and felicitous expressions, and it has also those tinsel conceits and those tarnished similes with which (rather than want an ornament) he frequently *dedecorates* his subject. But I cannot think that he is the author. Many reasons concur to make me doubt it; not the least forcible, that Mr. Moore, in all probability, must have known much of the book to be false, and he is too generous a man to dishonour himself for either party or patronage. Mr. Moore travelled through a part of Ireland last year, with a nobleman, whose tenantry, if not the most wretched in the kingdom, are, I will venture to say, not less miserable than any other, and miserable *from causes very far removed from those to which the pseudo captain would attribute our distresses.* Mr. Moore must have seen the real state of the case, and he would not, for any paltry considerations, condescend to make himself the instrument for continuing

he miseries of the Irish peasantry, and in-
reasing the wealth of those who have been
heir oppressors.

I proceed now to set before my reader one
f the real causes of our distresses and our
isturbances.

CHAPTER X.

RENTS—POPULATION—AGENTS.

IN the year 1779, when Mr. Young published his Agricultural Tour through Ireland, it appeared that the acreable rent of land had doubled within the preceding twenty-five years. The prices of things had, perhaps, increased in something near the same proportion, but still not sufficiently so to prevent discontent and murmurs. Indeed, it would appear, that the population of the country, at that day, as well as at the present, might be considered excessive; that is to say, the quantity of ground devoted to the purposes of tillage, (and thus likely to be distributed among a people who had no capital but their labour), was by no means sufficient to meet the demand. This state of things will readily account for the rapid rise into consequence and wealth of the persons termed middlemen. Capital was scanty, and labour was

abundant; and, accordingly, there was little competition in the bidding for large farms, while those who obtained the land could, by reletting it, procure an enormous profit.

Comparing the rents of the present day (I mean the rents, reduced as they have been in consequence of the depreciation in the money price of agricultural produce) with Mr. Young's account of the rents in 1778, *we find, that they have rather more than doubled; and yet, if we take an average of prices for the last three years, we shall find, that (except in the articles of poultry and butter, and one or two unimportant matters beside) the prices are the same as those stated by Mr. Young.*

This assertion, the truth of which can be easily verified, must appear somewhat strange. In 1778, the people were complaining of the exorbitancy of their rents; and in 1824, the rents are double, the prices the same, and the mode of farming very little improved. The consequences of this severity must be

felt somewhere—or else the soil must produce more than it did in times past. This latter supposition, Mr. Young's accurate investigation forbids us to entertain, the average prices of grain when he wrote, being very much the same with the present averages. Either, then, the landlord's claim is resisted, or the privations of the poor must be considerably increased. *Both of these misfortunes have happened.* In Mr. Young's time, the food of the Irish poor was so plentiful, that he was anxious to introduce something resembling their habits of living among the English labourers. I mean no more than that he was anxious to cultivate the potatoe, and give every English labourer a potatoe garden and a cow, after the fashion then prevailing in Ireland. If he travelled among us now, he would retrench one article, when recommending the Irish comforts. Potatoes he would still find, and, generally speaking, plenty of them; but the cow, and the flowing milk-pail (except in some districts where equivalent evils are felt), these are gone—no,

not gone absolutely; *only transmuted into a part of that increased rent which the landlords are now exacting.*

As far back as I can trace, I find the quantity of land which was to be let out in small portions, not sufficient to meet the demand for it. The relaxation of the penal code opened the pursuits of agriculture to the Roman Catholics, while the jealousy with which corporation rights were guarded, and the personal and immediate interest, which every member of a corporation felt, in the strict administration of its laws, operated to the almost total exclusion of that body from commercial avocations. Hence, naturally, the population engaged in agriculture, must have increased more than in its fair proportion; and, consequently, the proprietors of land had it in their power to require a rent not measured by the intrinsic value of the ground, but by the excessive demand for it, occasioned by a superabundant agricultural population.*

* Captain Rock attributes the discontents in Ireland principally to the operation of the penal laws. In such

As the population increased, it followed as a consequence, that the rents were raised proportionably, because the demand was proportionably increased; and the population advanced with great rapidity, because the means of subsistence were left amply to the peasant, although his comforts were gradually withdrawn. If Ireland had been an object of much interest to the politician,

a position there is some truth, but no honesty. If he had said, that penal laws produced or cultivated a spirit of oppression in the landlords, and that such a spirit has been the cause of the people's grievances, he would perhaps have spoken an important truth, (the connecting link between the penal laws and the disturbances being, the severe oppressions under which *the landlords have made the peasantry to suffer*;) but when it is stated, that the laws are *directly* the causes of distress, it is the worst kind of falsehood—*a truth dishonestly applied*. Some years since a long continued north wind brought down upon our orchards a flight of unknown birds, who, with their crossed bills, destroyed our apples; the destruction of the fruit might be traced, eventually, to the wind, but if any man had told us that the wind was the immediate cause, and left out of his consideration the cross-bills, we would have had little respect for his understanding, or, perhaps have concluded that he had little respect for ours.

he could not look upon such a state of things without experiencing some alarm. To see a people so rapidly increasing, and under circumstances which must, necessarily, *destroy all their self-respect*, would distress a benevolent man, and create some disquietude in the coldest politician; but the line of conduct adopted towards Ireland, affords a melancholy proof that our troubles and our dangers were very little regarded.

The state of Ireland was not, however, disregarded upon the continent. Mr. Young was of opinion, that the disturbances of his time were unconnected with any foreign incitements, because the informers who intimated such a connection were men of bad character, and because no French coins were found in the possession of the natives. He, indeed, admits, and it is an important admission, *that the disturbances were coincident, in point of time, with foreign attempts upon this country*, no disorder having been remembered before the year 1760, which was subsequent to "Thurot's descent, or Conflans's intended expedition." But whether these disturbances

arose, naturally, out of the grievances which the people endured, and to a sense of which they had of themselves awakened, or whether they were *excited by French intrigue*, I believe it is an indisputable fact, that France sent emissaries here to *foment them*. As well as my information can direct me, (which I confess to be nothing more than tradition, and the remembrance of old family papers,) it was at this time that France sent over into Ireland persons to recruit for her armies, (principally for the Irish brigade,) who were known here by the appellation—"Wild "geese." I state this particular with caution. I do not undertake positively to assert, that these persons were not in the country before the year 1760, though all my recollections of their reported escapes and adventures would lead me to think so; but, at all events, no doubt whatever can be entertained, that, at the time of the Whiteboy disturbances, there were in this country men professing themselves accredited agents of the French government, whose employment it was to recruit for the Irish brigade, and who were, of

course, mainly instrumental in keeping up and in exciting a discontented spirit in the minds of the oppressed and suffering people.

It is, however, of little consequence to inquire into the immediate occasion of the disorders by which this country was agitated in past years. The source of disorder was in the misery and ignorance of the people. They might say, with the noble slave:—

> "Whatever world we are thrown next upon
> "Cannot prove worse than this."

And there is, despite of all the influence of calamity upon them, a poetical and an enthusiastic spirit in the Irish people, which will, I trust for ever, resist the power of misery to make them tranquil slaves. The government was not instructed, the gentry did not feel themselves rebuked, by the Whiteboy disturbances. The tumult subsided, and immediately the course of things which had led to disorder was renewed; middle men continued as before, and the practice of subdividing land was carried on with unabated zeal. To crown all, the forty shilling freeholds were made general through all deno-

minations of his Majesty's subjects; and the interests of gentlemen, as politicians, set at variance (at least apparently) with their interest as landholders.

So much has been said upon the demoralizing effect of county elections, that I do not think it necessary to enlarge upon their consequences here. The effects of the electioneering system, too, are well known. The great subdivision of farms, the bribery, the perjuries, the party magistrates, all are well known, and their consequences, an impoverished and unprincipled people. Still, as the excessive population (excessive I mean in proportion to the means of employing them) is the great cause of our disorders, or rather the great preparative for them, I think it expedient to devote a short space to a consideration of the causes why our population so rapidly increases. In other countries, it would be sufficient to compare the registers of various periods together, and see how the population *has increased*; but here (from the imperfection of such public documents) we are driven to the necessity of

inquiring why it *must* increase. I take the case of a mountain farm, at some little distance from me, which was taken by a middleman in the year 1805, having then sixty families residing on it, and containing about five hundred acres. I take the case of this farm, not in consequence of any extraordinary increase of population upon it, but merely as it happens to offer itself to my mind, and as it affords a fair illustration of the general increase.

In the year 1805, there were sixty families residing on this farm; *there are now one hundred and fifty-three*; and not a single tenant has been introduced by the landlord, nor is there at present, on the farm, a single additional tenant, who is not a son or a son-in-law of some original proprietor. I will give a short sketch of the causes of this rapid increase. As soon as a girl approached the age of fifteen, her mother began to feel alarm, least the report of a fortune (which she, for her daughter's advantage, had begun to give hints of,) should occasion danger, by making her an object of avarice or ambition to some

daring pauper, who would possess himself of his prize by a forcible abduction. If there were friends in the adjoining town, or in other places of security, the young girl was sent for safety to them a little before Shrove-tide, the time when marriages are most generally contracted. This was a kind of advertisement, that proposals would be received, and that the lady was not portionless. While the daughter was thus put in fortune's way, the mother was advancing her suit with the priest of the parish, and with all other priests to whom she could procure access. It will readily be imagined, that in the reverend gentlemen she found no inactive coadjutors, when it is remembered that no small part of their income * is derived from the contributions made upon the occasion of weddings. Thus, a marriage was soon got up, and as the young couple must have something to begin with, and, as there was a report of a fortune to induce suitors, a fortune must

* I have known so much as fifty pounds subscribed at the wedding of a plain farmer's daughter.

be made out, for the suitor was not enough of a lover to abate of his demands in the minutest particular. Of course, arrears towards the landlord commenced, for it did not often happen that a farmer had a fund, which he might call his own, sufficient to meet the exigency which his daughter's early marriage had created. Thus, for two or three gales, the landlord had to complain of arrears, and as a means of procuring his rent, began to urge upon the father the propriety of having one of his sons married; and it was his interest that an alliance should be formed with the tenant of lands that were not his, in order that he might put in practice against a neighbouring landlord the same system by which *he* had himself been made to suffer. This was short-sighted and pernicious policy, but it was practised without scruple by a class of men who thought only of the present. The alliance was, in consequence, formed, the arrears paid, and the landlord saw the young couple established on his land in a new cabin, and on a part of their father's farm. Thus, the subdivision of

farms went on; where a farmer could not portion his daughter in money, he assigned over a part of his land, and when his son received a fortune with a wife, the fortune generally came to the father, and a portion of his land became the son's possession. The landlord saw his tenants increasing without feeling any anxiety or alarm; on the contrary, he found his county interest promoted by their numbers, and could calculate to a nicety what he was entitled to expect for a given number of votes; viz. a place for his son, or a magistracy for himself, or a grand jury presentment, or any of those little anonymous advantages, by which, without a breach of law, he could obtain fair remuneration for his electioneering endeavours.

It is easy to imagine, that the population of a country must have very rapidly increased, where it was retarded by no preventive check, and where so many accidental causes co-operated with the natural impulse to form early marriages.

1. The landlords thought it, for their interest, that young men should marry.

2. The priests undertook to provide husbands for the maidens.

3. The danger, to which girls were exposed, increased the anxiety of parents.

4. And the premature departure of youthful bloom, occasioned by bad food and hard labour, was another reason why early marriages became the fashion.

Against the influence of these and many other incentives, *there was positively no one check.* The landlords willingly beheld their land broken up for the accommodation of a new race of beings; the youthful pairs entered into the married state without the least foresight or apprehension; sure of a subsistence, and unacquainted with comfort, they looked forward to a large family of children, *as to a possession rather than an incumbrance,* and saw in their sons, as it were, the pride of their mature years, and their support in old age.

If such a state of things were left to the ordinary operation of natural causes, the population of Ireland might continue for some time longer to increase in density and in

wretchedness; and the first notice which England would have of her misgovernment, might be from a convulsion which would shake her own fine institutions to the ground. She has been advertised of the danger with which she is threatened; and even the Irish gentry have been taught, by experience, what they had not learned, and would not learn from Mr. Malthus. As long as the continuance of the war, and the paper currency kept up the prices of agricultural produce, all was good humour and confidence; and if these prices had continued for some years longer, I sincerely believe, that the very existence of our constitution would be put in peril. But prices fell, and rents could no longer be paid. The poor tenants, sinking into arrears, became careless of emerging from their difficulties, and withheld from the landlord even that portion of rent, which, at the reduced prices, the land could yield. Then it began to be felt, that those landlords, who had retained possession of their grounds, were the persons who derived most benefit from them; and as soon as this truth be-

came generally known and felt, it is almost incredible to think how generally the maxims of Mr. Malthus were understood. All at once the evils of excessive population were plainly seen; it seemed as if personal interest had touched the eyes of all the Irish gentry, and made them discern the principles that had been, until now, secretly warring against their country. Every man who could get back his ground from under-tenants determined to farm for himself, and, in consequence, many of the poor became, all at once, deprived of all means of procuring subsistence. Then arose Captain Rock as the refuge of the distressed; and embodied into a regular and formidable system, all those stray principles of defence and retaliation which had been well understood before, but which, until now, had been capricious and desultory in their operation.

However, notwithstanding the Captain's word and sword, I am of opinion, that things were in progress towards improvement; certainly, in some particulars, fashions have altered for the better. A girl no longer loses the hope of changing her condition, if

eighteen finds her a maiden; landlords are no longer careless about the dismemberment of their lands; and, I think, if an average were taken of the number of marriages from the year 1819 to the end of 1823, it would be found, that they were not so numerous by one half, as in the preceding years. From what cause or causes it has arisen, I cannot say, but I perceive, that in this year the number of marriages has increased. The increased prices of all kinds of produce may, perhaps, account for it; but it is probable, that the poor may find themselves aided by the operation of the Tithe Composition Act,* and encouraged by reports of the various societies, embodied for their amelioration

As to these various societies for improving

* The advantage of Mr. Goulbourn's bill, in procuring for the clergy better representatives, and a more fitting medium of communication with the people than the tithe-proctors, is of such vital importance, as to be more than a counterpoise to the danger of its encouraging a greater subdivision of land; and this, too, may be obviated by the wisdom of the government, and counteracted by the awakened prudence of the Irish landlords.

the condition of the poor—far be it from me to question the benevolent motives from which they have taken their rise; but I regret, that their failure, *for they* MUST *all fail;* is likely to be considered an additional proof, that nothing can be done for Ireland. These societies proceed, with respect to the poor, on the same principles which guide a speculative neighbour of mine in the management of his horses. He holds, that corn is an unnecessary luxury for them, and that good grooming will keep them sleek and healthy; and, although their coats are staring and their strength declining, he still maintains, that his failure is owing *to some occult and undiscoverable cause,* and will rather, I believe, keep the poor animals in a state in which they are quite unprofitable, than accommodate himself to the vulgar notion, that they should be fed as well as curried. Every body knows, that the best way to improve the condition of the poor, is *to give effect, as Malthus says, to the desire of improvement;* and how to do this *without letting in some hope upon them, I am utterly unable to comprehend.*

The society says, "white-wash your house, "plant a garden around it, get bee-hives, have "your children taught to spin, &c. &c, and "we will encourage and reward you;" and perhaps the individuals who constitute the society, may be among the persons who say, in the form of an exorbitant rent, *all your improvements are for my advantage, and even the prizes by which you may be rewarded shall surely be mine.* The grand argument which I have heard put forward to gain over the support of the gentry to these various societies is, *that they may be instrumental in enabling the tenantry to pay their rents*; that is, to pay higher rents than they are at present able to make of the ground. I knew a case where a high minded and very intelligent man ventured to move, as an amendment to some resolution by which a premium was offered, *that the premium should not be granted to any tenant who was subject to an exorbitant rent.* "We all "know," said he, "that in such a case, the "tenant will derive no benefit, as the prize will "become part of the rent; and that the land-"lord will thus have his rapacity rewarded

" and encouraged by a bounty intended for " the benefit of the poor. It will be easy," he added, " to ascertain the cases, in which " it may be advisable to extend this en- " couragement. Being, as we are, an agri- " cultural body, we can have no difficulty in " pronouncing, from our knowledge of any " farm, whether the rent demanded for it be " excessive or not; and if it be, I think we " are called upon, by a regard for the real " interests of the poor and of the country, " to refuse our sanction to the exercise of " a rapacious spirit, which such premiums " as you are offering may have a tendency " to increase and to perpetuate." It is perhaps unnecessary to state, that the amendment was negatived.* *It was considered*

* Captain Rock, or the missionary, has alluded to the very clever letters in the Southern Reporter, containing instructions how to give tithe in kind. *It is a curious fact, that the writer of these letters thought it a very proper object for the various agricultural societies, to extend the operation of Mr. Goulburn's bill.* He is a man who will not gratify his hostility to the church establishment at the expence of the poor creatures whom the missionary and his associates will have to

monstrous to extend the inquiries of the society into any consideration of landlord's oppressions, and the interests of the poor were to be no farther regarded, *than was compatible with the untroubled aggressions of the privileged orders.*

Another instance of the same reverence for the higher classes, I cannot pass unnoticed. One of these societies, taking into account the demand which corn buyers made for what they called "beamage," (although they gave the seller the benefit of it in a higher price,) determined to put a stop to it, as an illegal exaction, and, I believe, succeeded, with *great eclat*. This was all right; it simplified the business of buying and selling. But in the town where this society held its meetings, there were charges made by the corporation which every one knew to

bear the evils of their warfare, *and as soon as he had an opportunity to judge for himself what Mr. Goulburn's bill in reality was, he at once gave up all opposition to it, and cordially gave it the assistance of his talents, and, what was perhaps of equal importance, the strong sanction of his approval.*

be illegal, and which were urged to *the real loss of the poor*—not as in the case of the beamage—and yet no one member of this association would attempt—I believe I am wrong—I believe a member showed how easily they could succeed—but certainly the association would not put one finger to the sore part of the "head of the corporation;" and he, in consequence, derives the benefit of his illegal exactions, which are levied upon the poor, day after day, in the presence of an association instituted for their protection and improvement.

I speak here of no other societies than these of whose merits a farmer may be competent to judge. There are societies for the encouragement of fisheries, &c. &c.; and all of these may, perhaps, serve the country, not only by introducing new wealth amongst us, but by lightening the pressure of the population on agricultural employment. There are others for the cultivation of waste lands; and of the propriety of their objects, I have great doubts. *If there could be any assurance given that the tenantry of these waste lands*

should grow so familiar with comforts, that they would feel a dread and a shame of bringing children into a world where their portion is likely to be wretchedness, the lands might be turned to good account; but if the population of them is to be of the same kind with that from which the principal evils of the present day arise, then, I think wise men should hesitate long before they would, in order to procure a slight temporary relief, lend themselves to a measure which would be silently, but certainly, accumulating the materials for future convulsions. But as to the agricultural societies for improving the condition of the poor, *they* MUST *fail, and they* OUGHT *to fail; because, while the rents continue what they are at present, the people distinctly understand, that, for every new power developed in them, an additional burden will be imposed upon them.* When Sampson ground in the mill for the Philistines *he was blind*; and if the associations could deprive our people of understanding, perhaps they might succeed in strengthening them for their lord's advantage; but so long as they see that their

increased skill can add little or nothing to their comforts, they will remain indocile and discontented, and will not think it a sufficient reward for their toils, that they have been the means of sending a new aspirant for the dignity of absenteeship to the luxury for which he pines, and that they have procured for themselves the power to run to the apertures of their miserable hovels, and stare at the splendid equipage in which a new agent is glancing gloriously by.

I do not mean to say, that these associations, frivolous as their objects are, may not be of some random utility to the country; but I own my spirit has sometimes been grievously stirred when I have seen the manner in which they have been converted into a means of misleading public opinion as to the causes of Irish wretchedness. I have heard landlords and ladies, *who, if they thought for an instant, must have known that they were themselves the real cause why the people suffered*, direct the attention of the members of the associations to matters totally unconnected with the general distress.

"Now don't you think, that the church "establishment is a horrid bore? Don't "you think, that three thousand a year is "a great deal too much for any pair of lawn "sleeves; and could not the parsons live "a very comfortable life, and keep good "wives, that would nurse their pigs, and "wash their children's faces very well, if we "*allowed them three hundred pounds*?" And who are the people who thus dogmatize, with such a flippant and pragmatical philosophy? Frequently they are persons who have strained the exertions of their wretched tenantry until the instruments of torture have snapped; who have been maintaining a shadowy affectation of finery in circles where they were admitted to a kind of scornful toleration, and, in order to sustain the appearance which procured for them permission thus to attend at the threshold of honour, have been wringing from the hearts of their forlorn dependants the humble comforts which had been so hardly earned; and who, when oppression could procure no more, returned with the stern grasp of necessity

upon them, and imported themselves, with their poverty and their peevishness, in return for the large revenue they send annually away for the satisfaction of their creditors in England. Oh, this dreadful absentee-ship! Who has ever looked upon a group of the peasantry of Ireland, and has not mourned for their desertion? And to think of the love and the homage from which our absentees fly away! I well remember, when the name of —— would have sent a trumpet tone into all hearts within the limits of an extensive county. I remember well, when there needed but that name to rouse, into any notion of labour or of peril, as fearless and as gallant a host as ever the sun looked down upon. And he who could thus "wield "at will" the energies of a fine people, before whom, I am convinced, if danger assailed him, ten thousand men would have made a wall of their dead bodies, rejected the god-like office, to which he seemed called, of being the benefactor of such multitudes, for the effeminate and debasing pleasures that alienated him from all good; and now, even

in the neighbourhood of his magnificent but desolate mansion, his name is associated with evil, and pronounced in a tone that seems the very echo of disappointed hopes and affections. Oh! miserable, miserable, Ireland! when will thy children cease to leave thy distresses unknown, that they may furnish weapons for purposes of vulgar hostility? When will those persons whose names could stamp truth with authority, desist from attempts at misdirecting public opinion, and state honestly and fully what they know to be the causes of your distress? When shall your people be rescued from the oppressions and extortions that have made them wicked and miserable, and that keep them desperate and unimproveable? I cannot speak with authority. I can gain for my assertions no passport to public favour; and therefore they may pass into oblivion unregarded; but still, I will perform my duty faithfully, and state what I consider as one of the greatest evils, arising out of absenteeship, by which our peasantry and our country are afflicted.

When I mentioned the grievance of excessive rents, I did not mean to say, that every landlord was an oppressor. Many landlords there are who have entitled themselves to all praise; but their efforts are rendered comparatively useless by the greater number of those who are the devourers of their people. In the same manner, I do not mean to say that all agents are to be condemned; but, that the conduct of the great majority (at least the majority of such as I have known) is in the highest degree to be reprobated. In some instances, the *agency system* is to blame for the evils which originate in it; in others, the agents are the causes of evil. It needs no sagacity to discern, that, in those cases where the agents live at a considerable distance from the estates they are to manage, the evils of their non-residence must be sensibly felt. These gentlemen appoint a particular day on which they will attend to receive the rents; and it is not to be expected that persons *who never visit the property* (as is frequently the case) can be acquainted with the proper ob-

jects for indulgence, and can know in what cases they should press their demands. Englishmen can hardly appreciate the importance of a little judicious indulgence to an Irish tenantry, and may not readily comprehend how many a poor man is ruined for the want of a resident agent, of a better order than the bailiffs usually employed, *to receive his rent in small portions, as he gathers it at the various markets.*

But, passing by this misfortune, an evil owing principally to the exorbitancy of the rents, which leave so little means for procuring comforts to the peasantry, that they may be continually under the temptation of appropriating to their own use some of that income which is the landlord's due; omitting altogether the grievance which arises from their not being well watched, I have a heavier charge against the agents. The grievance attending the collection of rents is light, in comparison with those which arise out of the mode of letting farms. If the agents were persons unacquainted with the value of lands (*and no such persons ought to be agents*),

and if this were a country in which there *was no more than a fair competition* for land, it might be said, that the mode of setting, by advertising for proposals, needed not to be changed. But here, the agents know perfectly well what the rents ought to be, and they know equally well that the peasantry are disposed to offer more. Why then is it, *that they require private proposals?* Is it that their employers doubt their integrity, and leave a hapless peasantry exposed to the peculation of men whom they would not depend on where they are themselves directly concerned? Or have the landlords confidence in them; and is it at the suggestion of the agents the mode of accepting proposals is adopted? I do not know—but I know what the consequences have been. *I know that a peasant never thinks of making his approach to an agent without a bribe in his hand*; I know that honest agents are shocked, *and the great mass of agents enriched by this nefarious traffic*; I know that peasants consult their friends about *the amount of the bribe to be offered, as well as about the rent to be proposed*; *and*

I know that bribes more than equivalent to the abatements desired have been offered and accepted by the agents who procured them; I know, too, that more than a due proportion of oppression falls on the peasantry from these trading agents; they receive bribes from wealthy middlemen as well as from the poor, but they are obliged to give full value to the former, who might tell disagreeable tales; and they make the poor wretches, whose complaints they hold lightly, suffer for the indulgences which they must grant to those whose stories might be credited.

These oppressions I do not hesitate to say *are main causes of the misery, and powerful excitements of the discontented spirit which reigns amongst our people*; *and while they continue, I am sure there can be no comfort*; *and, but for the immorality of the desire, I could wish that there might not be tranquillity in Ireland.*

CHAPTER XI.

AMUSEMENTS OF THE IRISH PEASANTS. CONDUCT OF LANDLORDS.

" Thro' Connaught, Ulster, Leinster, Munster,
" Rock is the boy to make the fun stir."

Memoirs of Captain Rock.

MY last chapter concluded with a half expressed wish, that there might be no peace in Ireland, so long as the peasantry have to complain of their present oppressions. It was a wish not the consequence of reflection, but a hasty emotion wrung from me by an indignant sense of the injustice and the cruelty of abandoning a people to the rapacity of a class of men, who stand between the landlord and his dependants, and grow great on the plunder of

both. But when for an instant, I turn my thoughts from the oppressors, to the character and the actions of the people who are suffering, I feel all the impropriety of my expressions; and there are times when I could think, even with complacency, of some sore judgment sent down upon the land for the wickedness of its inhabitants. I am, for a moment, leaving out of view, the causes which could have reduced human nature to such a state. What may have infused into the peasantry of Ireland the dæmoniacal spirit by which they seem actuated, and what may have inflamed it, I, for a brief space, cease to consider; and confine myself to the manner in which this spirit manifests itself in the excesses by which our country is afflicted, and the peculiarly abominable character which it communicates to them.

There is, I am told, a genius for happiness; and there are men who can find satisfaction even in the atrocities at which the generality of mankind are grievously shocked. One writer of our days, in stately

phrase and philosophical calmness of temperament, pronounces our disturbances to be *a war!* and invests pillage, and treachery, and murder, in the dignity of military stratagem and martial atchievement. Another writer, the missionary, finds Captain Rock and his followers to be men after his own heart, and over their glorious exploits—the prudence of their retreats where they are opposed, and the heroism with which they massacre the unarmed and unresisting,—has sported amiably. Bless his merry heart, it fits him well for his employment. The missionary is Captain Rock's favoured laureat, I have not the genius, or the kindred spirit by which one must qualify for such a post. I am but the humble and faithful historian; and as such, I am to describe the character of the exploits which have animated the missionary into such an enthusiasm of admiration.

I will not dwell upon such glorious feats as were performed in my neighbourhood the other day, when a daring multitude seized upon an individual whose cousin had offended, and slew him in fair fight; and

when, before life was quite extinct, one of the dauntless train lifted the body from the earth, carried it to a little distance, and placed the uncovered head carefully on a stone, that it might be the more convenient mark for his blows—"Rock is the boy to "make the fun stir." I pass by, however, such trifling amusements as these; it is only in his hours of dalliance that he is to be found engaged in these light sports, or, as has been said elsewhere, "ridiculously "tossing children on the point of a pike." I come to a nobler exploit, such as will more faithfully characterise the gallant captain, and more effectually justify the seeming extravagance of the missionary's praises.

There lived in the county of Waterford, a gentleman of small property, but of a family, which, independant of its antiquity, was venerable in the minds of the people, for having suffered in their cause *. He was

* He was a nephew of that Mr. Sheehy, the Roman Catholic priest, who was hanged in the town of Clonmel. At this distance of time the name of "Father Sheehy" is a convenient topic for abuse against the memories of

a Roman Catholic; he was a man of the kindest manners, a most humane and indulgent landlord, even to his own detriment, and from his earliest youth he had never forsaken the popular side. If such men are regarded as the enemies of the people, I could wish to know, who they consider their friends? This gentleman was a tenant to Lord Middleton, a nobleman of whom it is little to say, that he is a munificent and benevolent landlord,

the men who condemned him. It is supposed, I know, that very equivocal evidence was admitted against him; but whatever were the merits of the case on which he suffered, *it is certain* that he was mainly instrumental in exciting the Whiteboy disturbances. I knew an old gentleman, a Roman Catholic, whom he laboured to seduce into a participation of his designs, and to whom he directly proposed, that he should submit to be sworn in as a member of the Whiteboy fraternity. The opinion entertained of Mr. Sheehy's case, by those who are the most competent judges, is, that no man merited his death more thoroughly; even although of the specific charge upon which he was convicted he might have been innocent. His connection with the insurrectionary system was perfectly well known, although no legal evidences could be procured except from persons of doubtful character.

and who has the rare advantage of having his good intentions not marred, but carried into perfect execution by intelligent and upright agents. It will readily be understood, that there may have been an anxiety generally felt to be the tenant of such a nobleman, and to be under the direction of such agents. Mr. Sheehy, the tenant of whom I speak, held under Lord Middleton, on a lease for his own life; and (the lease of one of the persons to whom he had re-let the ground having expired) he gave a farm, containing about thirty acres to his son, whom he wished to leave in possession of so much on his own demise. The tenants began to think, that if Mr. Sheehy died while they were in possession, they might have their leases continued under Lord Middleton, as their immediate landlord; and the resolution was adopted to murder an innocent kind-hearted old man, who had been living for the greater part of sixty years with the old people and their children, on terms of the most affectionate intercourse; and who had been indulgent to all his tenants at personal losses,

and at the expence of suffering such inconvenience in his family as made his indulgence a fault. He had been walking on a winter evening towards his home—a home, from which, while Sheehy had means to be generous, no poor man was ever sent empty away.—He was, with his usual open-hearted and benevolent hilarity, conversing with a young peasant about his approaching marriage, and assisting him with his counsel on the arrangements he should make. The young man entered into the house where his mistress lived, and Mr. Sheehy pursued his way, unacquainted with fear, and imagining that there was not perhaps in existence a being who could entertain a hostile feeling against him. In the mean time, the young man from whom he parted with a blessing, had armed himself, and gone in pursuit of his unsuspecting victim; and while *his* mind was, perhaps, occupied with benevolent projects for his murderer—the murderer stood silently at his back, and with the heavy coulter of a plough, beat in his skull, and repeated his blows until his benefactor was

lying a mangled corse upon the snow.—"Rock is the boy to make the fun "stir!!!"

It happened, that there was resident near the scene of this atchievement, a young barrister, who, as the missionary had not then published his practice of moral sentiments, thought this victory a murder, and by his activity and intelligence succeeded in bringing the conqueror to trial, and to what used, in the old time, to be called justice; but although the country people knew well who had performed the act, or, as plain men might say, perpetrated the murder, yet they used all means in their power to facilitate his escape from the pursuit that was made after him, and to favour his departure from the country.*

I have not selected this instance in consequence of any peculiar atrocity attending the murder. I could enumerate many cases

* It ought to be mentioned that Lord Middleton continued the lease, (under which a profit rent of 400*l.* per annum was derived), to the children of Mr. Sheehy, who are at this moment in possession.

marked by a much more sanguinary and ferocious spirit, but the instance I have chosen will serve to show how very worthless a thing human life is considered to be, and how little capable the people are of feeling that abhorrence of the most odious offences which would lead them to bring the man of blood to justice. Another reason which decided me in making my selection is, that if these pages shall find their way into the circle in which Lord Middleton moves, *he may not suffer my statement, if it be false, to pass uncontradicted.** I give it—one out of numberless instances of equal atrocity—as the manifestation of a spirit which one writer gravely describes as a spirit of martial prowess, and of which the missionary discourses with an easy sportiveness of manner, very distinct, indeed, from that reckless irony that sometimes breaks out from a vexed and sorrowful heart. I do not envy

* The murderer confessed his guilt after conviction, acknowledged all the virtues of the deceased, and stated that he had no other motive for the perpetration of the crime than that which I have assigned.

these gentlemen their honours, or the comfort of their mutual admiration. Let one declare, that Captain Rock "in his own "person," as well as through his memoirs, has been of essential service to Ireland; let the other delight himself with such merry comedies as the mangling poor dumb beasts, and leaving them to die in lingering agony, the wrapping a secure and sleeping family in sudden conflagration, and the prudent valour with which, when fight is to be maintained against men, Captain Rock's heroes so rapidly disperse. Let the missionary rejoice and exult in these martial and facetious performances; I do not envy him his heart; I cannot imitate his conduct; I cannot free myself from the heavy conviction, that, whatever Ireland may have gained, or may be likely to gain, from the lesson which her privileged orders have been taught, her advantages are but a very slight recompence indeed, for the spirit of cowardly ferocity which has been cherished and matured in her peasantry by the troubles in which they have been engaged; a spirit at which the hearts of

other men are sickened, but which the missionary (himself in safety) invokes and eulogizes.

If this spirit be not soon suppressed, it will be impossible to save Ireland; and Ireland will not be worth saving. I do not think the measures now adopted calculated in the least to reform our people. It would appear to me, as if the government were determined to prevent, or at least to retard the breaking out of an open insurrection; and at the same time (sensible of the people's grievances) left the peasantry and the gentry to be, by mutual annoyance, harrassed into mutual accommodation. I do not know whether this be the intention of the government, but such appears to me the tendency of their measures. It is possible that this kind of policy may be attended by apparent success; the landlords may grow (some have grown) moderate in their demands, and the peasantry may suffer them to sleep unmolested; but, in the mean time, there is strengthening itself in the minds of the people, a spirit of perfidy

and violence, worse than "the spirit of the "first-born Cain:" and England, elevated as she is, may yet have cause to rue the hour, when with a crooked and vacillating policy she abandoned the maxims of even-handed justice, and condescended to employ, in the attainment of her ends, such disgraceful instruments, as the tumults of an exasperated people and the fears of a forsaken gentry.

But what is to be done? Something must be done very much removed from the track of ordinary politics; something that requires a steady head to look upon, and which no faint heart can execute. Lord Liverpool, in his place in the Imperial Parliament, has declared that Ireland is not in a fit state to receive the benefits of the British constitution. He has declared, I believe, the truth; and let his declaration be acted upon. Let the government consider Ireland as, at this moment, *a newly conquered country.* Let them not confine themselves to petty and isolated grievances, but examine with patient

resolution the whole state of our distracted land; let them examine the character of the peasantry, the conduct of the gentry, and the operation of the church; and having arrived at the *real* cause of Ireland's afflictions, *let them unhesitatingly cut it off*. If the church establishment be the unsound part, in the name of God, root it out; if the peasantry have, without a cause, given such dreadful manifestations of a turbulent spirit, curb them with chains of iron; and if the cause of our misfortunes is to be discovered in the conduct of our gentry, what sanctity is around them, that should cause justice to let fall her sword, and bow before acknowledged transgression. Let no one say, that the government should not interfere with private property; let no one imagine, that if an inquisition be held on the conduct of the *Irish* gentry, the gentry of *England* are not secure. *The cases are essentially distinct*. The Irish gentry have acknowledged the right of government to interfere with private property, by calling for its interference, not

only with the property of the church as a body, but with * that of the individuals of the clerical order. The Irish gentry have put on record their opinion, that the government may interfere, *by depriving the clergy of a considerable portion of their incomes, and appropriating it not to any national purpose, but to their own private aggrandisement.*

* I have heard some persons assert, that church property could not be considered as entitled to the same protection from the law as the property of the lay gentry. They say, that a landlord can dispose of his property by will, and that this constitutes an essential difference between his possessions and those of the clergyman. It constitutes the same difference between the property of a landlord having the fee and the tenant, who holding only *for his own life*, cannot, any more than the clergyman, make a testamentary disposition of his freehold; and yet I do not recollect to have heard any one assert, that such a man should not be protected in his rights, because they cease with his life. Others say, that a clergyman's tenure is different, because he has duties to perform. Declan has well shown that the landlords have their duties too. But it appears to me that the great question is this: Does the law protect all men in their rights, of whatever kind they may be? Is its sanction for obedience, preservation of life, liberty and property? If it be, surely the clergyman has a right to its protection. If it

The Irish gentry have decided upon the right to interfere, by the act which took from his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects the privilege which had been secured to them, *of disposing of their own property*. Let no one say, that interference in the private concerns of such men is unconstitutional or unprecedented.

Let the conduct of the gentry, then, for the last fifty years, be investigated. I do not undertake to say what the result may be. If they come out pure from the scrutiny,—well. —But if it appear, that as public men, they have been unprincipled, and as private men, that they have either been insolent masters or gross debauchees, who stooped to an intercourse with their people for purposes of contamination; if it shall appear, that we have

be not, let it be ascertained what those rights are to which the law will grant, and to which it will refuse, protection. If those who cannot bequeath their property may be deprived of it, all tenants for life may be deprived; and if those who perform duties must forfeit, all landlords who pay quit or crown rents, and who are compellable to serve the government in any capacity whatever, must resign their possessions.

had, in general, partial magistrates, peculating grand jurors, corrupt representatives, oppressive landlords, and a vicious or an overbearing gentry; if it shall appear, that the persons whom England placed here to win for her the affections of the Irish people, or at least to keep them obedient to her laws, have only rendered more fierce and deadly their hatred of her name, and have pursued a line of conduct which has been a means of making that hatred formidable; then I would ask, where is the man, who, with the past and the present evils of Ireland before him, would stay the operations of a righteous government in counteracting such enormities for the future?

I do not mean to say, that the Irish gentry, whatever their conduct may have been, should be deprived of their possessions; I wish to suggest only, that, if they shall be found to have abused their power, and to be the real causes of the people's distress, *they should not be suffered to retain the ability of perpetuating grievances which their misconduct has occasioned.* Is not this

reasonable? is it not just? What justified the confiscation of property, and the grants of it to those men who may have misused it? What justified the penal laws? What has justified the act of Union? What has justified the various enactments, by which the rights and privileges of mankind are, seemingly, resisted? One grand principle—*the necessity of providing for the public safety.* And if it appear, that permanent tranquillity is unattainable in Ireland, and ultimate severance of British connection inevitable, without interfering with private property, shall not the necessity thus made out be a justification, in the eyes of God and man, for a bold and judicious interference?

If it be found on inquiry, that the gentry have been the cause of our sufferings, that the poverty of the people has been at once the consequence and the cause of their multiplied oppressions, what measures ought the government to adopt? I think it should first be resolved *to lighten the burden of excessive rents, which are the primal obstructions to all hope of improvement.* Let it be deter-

mined, what portion of the produce of the soil should be regarded as the fair rent of it, and let an act be passed for Ireland (in England it would be unnecessary) defining *this natural rent*, and providing, *that, whatever might be the amount of the nominal rent, the tenant who paid a sum equal to the value of the natural, should stand acquitted.* The incumbrances affecting the estates of our Irish gentry, would make this a ruinous measure to them; and therefore it would be just to lighten all their incumbrances *so as that they might bear to their diminished revenues, no higher proportion than they had borne to the nominal incomes of former years.* An act should also be passed making it penal in an agent to receive, personally, or through any member of his family, *a bribe from any tenant*; guarding as much as possible against evasion; and punishing the delinquent by a heavy fine, *to be forfeited in favour of the informer.*

Some arrangement should be also made to extricate the poor tenantry from the arrears in which they are involved. It never

can be expected that they will set themselves vigorously to work, while their efforts can so little serve them; especially, when, in many cases, they are confident that *the arrears are the consequence of exorbitant rents, and that, in truth, they have paid the full value of their holdings.* Let the church establishment be subjected to the same scrutiny as the landed interest, and if it appear that it has been, or might be made an useful instrument in benefiting the country,* although

* On the uses of the church establishment, and the important services which the church of England might render to the state, see the admirable arguments of Declan in his second letter; of which although I may not be able to praise the beauty as it deserves, I can, from my situation in the country, fully comprehend the perfect propriety. All this is foolishness to the missionary, and Declan is dull—dull! This reminds me of an expression which I once heard used with respect to Mr. Moore—the Mr. Moore to whom Captain Rock is impudently attributed. He had been, at a morning visit one day, particularly brilliant; and when he left the room, a lady said to a military fine gentleman, "That is the celebrated Mr. Moore; what do you "think of him?" The major, who, like the clown in "All's well, &c." had one answer for all such questions, replied with great gravity, "Think of him! why

its operation may have been impeded, and its efficacy weakened by a system of misgovernment, let the government, *with whom the blame of an inefficient establishment must always lie*, renovate its vigour, and direct its operations. Let all this be done in a calm reflecting spirit, retired far away from the noise of all the violent declamation

" I think he's *a proser*." The missionary's mind is of a calibre better fitted to receive such arguments as those of the sapient Mr. Elwood; who insists that it is illegal to bequeath tithe, because this would be a bequest of labour which the testator had no right to controul; *as if his heir was constrained to accept the inheritance;* and could not deliver himself from the conditions by refusing the grant. According to Mr. Elwood's principle, if any man received a grant of an estate on condition of paying three barley corns per annum, the grant is illegal. Admirable Mr. Elwood! and, if possible, more admirable missionary! " the Hotspur and the Douglas both combined." It is not possible that Mr. Moore could have sanctioned, by his approbation, such miserable mockery of all argument. There is another reason which convinces me that Mr. Moore is not the author of Captain Rock. The author, whoever he may be, accuses Declan of self-sufficiency for saying, *after Blackstone*, that the parson of a parish is regarded as one who never dies, and yet this same author insinuates, that if our

that is daily sounded in our ears, to give importance to some narrow views, or to make anger seem patriotism.

If, after having made the bold and equitable arrangements which I have mentioned, the disturbances of our country continue; if the arms are not given up, if the perpetrators of crime still receive from the people shelter and security; it is certain that some bond more powerful than their wants, keeps them confederated against the laws; and the government will be justified, by the necessity of the case, in adopting measures better calculated than those at present employed, for dissolving an abominable combination. If the disturbances have arisen out of the wants of the people, *the Insurrection Act is a cruelty*. If

parsons were poets Captain Rock would grow tranquil. Could Mr. Moore's notion of his own importance, or of that of his brother bards, carry him to the height of arrogance, or soften him to the childishness in which he would condemn Declan's and Blackstone's statement of a legal fiction, and utter at the same time such a piece of sweet and pretty simplicity as that to which I have alluded.

they have had their origin in some more alarming cause, *its present operation is a mockery*. More energetic measures must be adopted. The farmers, in disturbed districts, must be made to feel, *that the government may be as terrible as the disturbers*. They must be made to fear the laws which they have not respected. Let the menace of free quarters be put forth as a counterpoise to Captain Rock's manifestoes, and if the *menace* be found ineffectual, let the government pour in, at whatever sacrifice, a large military force amongst us; and if they cannot crush the rebellious spirit, let them force an open and a premature manifestation of it.

If it be insisted, that such measures as I have suggested, are unconstitutional, *I demand, what have we to do with the British constitution?* That majestic constitution is the growth of ages, and the people whom it shelters, regard it with habitual reverence and love; but here our whole system is an innovation; there is nothing venerable for its antiquity; nothing loved for its fostering

protection. And shall we be refused the benefits which we are fitted to receive, because they do not emanate from that glorious constitution up to which we have not yet been educated? When England has cleared and secured a place for it, let her constitution be planted here, and in time it will flourish. But first, let the place be prepared. And if, to do this, draining or fencing be necessary, let such preparatory measures be adopted, and then, *and not till then*, the British constitution will strike its roots firmly into our soil.

I remember when no Irish peasant would venture to plough in a moated field, *through reverence for the fairies*, until at last, an ingenious fellow contrived to obtain their approbation of his intentions. He went into the field at night, turned a sod, and directing himself successively to the four quarters of the heavens, demanded, with all due reverence, permission to till the field, and begged, that the consent of the "good "people," should be signified by their leaving the sod untouched, and their refusal, by

defender of the poor suffering gentry of Ireland, and protests against the bill, as an invasion of their rights. He has even assumed the servile tone, and assumed it so well, that one might almost fancy he had for a long time forsaken his savage haunts, and become domesticated in some courtly residence. He is no longer the wild shaggy animal upon whose head a price is set, and who, with his fellow companions, sweeps the dark heath with parching jaws and murderous propensities. The wolf is tamed; he waits at his master's table; he ambles at his master's side; and, with his tail between his legs, and his coat sleek, and his aspect full of complacency, he raises his howl; but in such a civilized and subjugated tone, that the duke must say, "let him roar again, let him roar again."

No wonder he should bay* Mr. Goulburn's

* Among the many reasons which convince me that "the Memoirs of Captain Rock" are *falsely* imputed to Mr. Moore, I cannot omit *one*, founded upon the flippant and vulgar insolence with which the name of our excellent chief secretary, Mr. Goulburn, is mentioned in

bill; whether he be at heart the ravager of the country, or *the convenient instrument of a great man's will*, in either case he may find cause of hostility to a measure, which, by proper attention, may quiet the country, and terminate the career of oppression. *We* can look at it with more liberal views than

that publication. I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance with that good man; but, perhaps, there are few who are more favourably circumstanced for forming a just estimate of his character and abilities. I am in habits of daily intercourse with men of opposite parties, who have frequent occasion to communicate with him. Of one thing I have the best reason to be firmly persuaded, viz. *that he is completely above all jobbing*; this I know from *the complaints* of those who fancied that, on the score of party zeal, they were entitled to a little irregular remuneration. I never heard of a dissentient from the opinion, that he is the most accomplished man of business that ever filled the situation which he at present holds in Ireland; and that he unites a mildness and gentleness of manner that has never been surpassed, with an untiring zeal, and an inflexible firmness that has seldom been equalled. He provokes his adversaries chiefly by giving them no cause for provocation. There is, indeed, one blemish in his character which might have fairly roused the missionary's

the captain, and approve, without any reference to a nobleman's nod, or the cravings of a vindictive spirit. And what is the advantage of this bill, upon which I look with such gratification? It is the power acquired by it of inspecting the distresses of our countrymen, and seeing at once the

choler. *He is a deeply convinced and thoroughly practical believer in Christianity.* It is not easy to convey an idea of the confidence in his measures with which the knowledge of this fact has inspired all sincerely religious Protestants. The missionary will pity them when I declare, that they cannot divest themselves of the notion that the measures of such a man will be attended by the blessing of God. Poor souls! How miserably they are deceived, to be the dupes of such a weakness! and how little they can have profited by the sublime discoveries of modern philosophy! And yet *if it could* enter into the heart of the missionary to conceive how intensely the Protestants of Ireland would deplore his loss, and how bitterly they would feel that their best interests were abandoned in case of his removal from the prominent station which he holds in the government, *I can scarcely* believe that *even he* would, for the gratification of a petulant and splenetic hostility, have undervalued his talents, or falsified facts, for the disparagement of his administration.

real causes of them. I will be more particular. When the vestry, summoned according to the Tithe Composition Act, shall have determined to adopt its provisions, there are two commissioners appointed to arrange the composition. They are bound, on their oath, to administer impartial justice, and they are empowered to examine the parishioners, and even to enforce the production of their leases. In order, too, that the burden of tithe may be fairly distributed, the commissioners are required to examine the lands, and to apportion the sums to be paid, as composition, according to the value of the land off which it is to be levied. To the commissioners of every parish, therefore, having before them the leases of the tenantry, and knowing the value of the lands, it will be apparent, *whether or not each man holds his farm at a fair equitable rent*; and if the legislature have it really at heart to know why Ireland is so wretched, let the commissioners, be required to furnish lists of the persons for whom they have acted, stating the value of their lands, and the rent which they have

stipulated to pay. If the various commissioners furnished such returns — if they stated, in separate columns,—

1. The real value of the ground;
2. The rent which the tenants *had agreed* to pay;
3. The sums *actually paid* on account of rent;
4. The sums paid on account of tithes;
5. The bribes (if they could be ascertained) to agents, and the losses occasioned by vexatious tithe-proctors,—

I will venture to say, that there would not be in existence a more instructive document, with respect to the state of Ireland, than this which the Tithe Composition Act has made attainable.

I am perfectly sincere when I say, that I think it for the *real* interests of the Irish gentry to have such a document produced, and to have it acted upon. Their nominal incomes may be diminished, but if the incumbrances affecting them are proportionably reduced, what ground is left for complaint? In return for what they yield, the

government should be energetic in procuring for them security. If they can procure it only by the severest measures, the severest should be employed; but I am strongly of opinion, that as soon as the farming classes feel themselves protected in the possession of their humble comforts, they will shrink away from the desperate wretches whom they had sheltered before, and denounce them to the laws as the common plagues of the community.

Some years since a friend of mine had lands to let, the leases of all his tenants having expired on the same day. The tenants were assembled, and the landlord met them. There was much debate about the terms on which they were to resume their former connection.—"I'll tell you what it is," said an old man, seemingly the orator of the group; "I'll tell you what it is now, fair and "honest, and I hope your honour will be "said by me, and so will all these boys— "*Give us our farms for the value, and we'll pay* "*you like the stroke of a clock.*" My friend took the old man's advice; and, a few days

since, when I reminded him of the occurrence, he told me that the old man was right, and that he had been ever since paid his rent *"like the stroke of a clock."**

If the conduct of this gentleman were generally imitated, or if laws were made to give the peasantry advantages such as *he* gave them, we might predict much good for

* The rent was two guineas an acre, and was an ample rent for the land; and the landlord, it ought to be mentioned, was a Protestant clergyman. I will venture to say, that his actual receipts have exceeded those of persons whose rents were apparently higher. The system now observed in the country is this; a bidder for land offers any rent which the rapacious landlord may expect, and then, as soon as he has come into possession of his farm, demands an abatement; and, whether his wishes are complied with or not, pays no more than he thinks reasonable. The fact is, that the occupying tenants, at present, *pay* little more than the real value of the land; but it would be well that they felt themselves indebted for their advantages to their landlords or the government, rather than to Captain Rock.

I beg the reader to believe, that if I have seemingly gone out of my way, and ventured to speak with frankness on subjects beyond my comprehension, I have not spoken in a spirit of arrogance, as if I thought myself capable of offering council to statesmen; but that I

Ireland. This is the measure wanted in order to give efficacy to the various plans and exertions made on our people's behalf. Associations to encourage cleanliness, to induce domestic habits, and to communicate useful knowlege, *will then be really useful, because they will assist the natural stimulus in the heart. They never can become a substitute for it, but they may second its operation powerfully.* They are of great service in regulating the wheel-work of society; but nothing can supply the place of its own proper spring. Set this spring in motion, by lightening the extreme pressure upon it; let the people's desire of bettering their condition be relieved from the hopelessness which makes it inoperative, and every thing in Ireland will soon assume a new appearance. Let this incubus remain upon them, and admirable as the mechanism of our system is, our petty ses-

have mentioned my opinions because I thought it possible, that, on subjects where the agricultural interest is so deeply concerned, a farmer might suggest something which wiser men had not stooped to notice, and which it was useful to have known.

sions, our boards, our various associations all must come to nought, because they have no power to set in vigorous and continued action, the great main spring of improvement.

If our Irish gentry were possessed of true wisdom, they would outstrip the government in their eagerness to promote such a saving measure. It would soon gain for them quiet and security, and would be a means of supplying to them, at no very distant day, a more profitable as well as a more prosperous tenantry.

The times require some such measure. The people have felt their strength, and they have been taught where their grievance lies. They feel, when they have paid the natural value (or more than the natural value) of the land, that in equity *their rent has been paid*; and the arrears which hang over their heads, they have ceased to regard as debts, and find in them only a memorial of the cruelty and unjust exaction of their arbitrary landlords. Thus every day the connection between landlord and tenant,

will be becoming more irritating and more insecure; and, while the gentry find their actual receipts little more than they should enjoy under the proposed innovation, they will see a hostile feeling against them rooting itself more deeply in the minds of the people, and rendered only more powerful and dangerous, by the inadequate attempts to improve the condition of the country.

The gentry *will not* urge forward the proper saving measure. They will give the people what is called education—they will endeavour perhaps to procure for them employment—they will encourage various modes of agriculture more profitable than those at present in use—they will perhaps enable the people to see clearly the wretchedness of their present condition; but will they allow them a hope that they may be able to better it? Will they make them feel that they may, by cultivating the soil, raise themselves above the rank of dependant paupers? I am not sanguine enough to expect that they will.

Nor will the government constrain them

to be just. I see already from the debates on Mr. Goulburn's amended bill (May 3d), that he may not assail the landed interest of Ireland. Let Captain Rock exult; a surer and more productive source of riot is preserved for him, than even the penal laws and the tithe exactions; but let those who desire tranquillity, and who cherish the love of British connection, weigh well the consequences of adopting measures* calculated to increase the strength of a discontented people, and to leave in full operation the grand cause of their discontent. I do not expect to have my voice heard—I do not expect to have my warning remembered. It will, I know well, be despised and forgotten; but a time may come when great events shall give it an interest, and even now, hopeless as I am of gaining an attentive hearing, I cannot suppress the thoughts that agitate me, and in the name of what is most valuable on earth, I call upon the Irish

* Those adopted by the societies for bettering the condition of the poor, &c. &c.

gentry—I call upon the English people, to listen to my warning voice on the consequences of their misgovernment.

The population of Ireland will continue rapidly to increase. The Roman Catholics will increase most rapidly, because nothing but absolute want of subsistence will serve as a check to early marriages amongst *them*, while the Protestant poor preserve a certain sense of decency which will, for a long time, prevent *them* from bringing children into the world whose portion is likely to be squalid misery. The present insurrectionary system (as Mr. O'Driscoll, the author of "Sketches "of Ireland," and proprietor of the Limerick Observer, informs us) is only, as it were, *a course of drill to discipline the disturbers for more daring enterprizes* than those in which they are engaged at present. There are in Ireland numbers of men educated to a certain degree—intelligent and courageous—desperate in their fortunes, and trained up in a habitual hatred of British connection. What will the consequences be, when the population is much more numerous, *and*

perhaps still more miserable than it is at present? The poor, alienated from their landlords by severe exactions, incited to rebellion by tempting offers, and discouraged by no prospect of suffering in case of failure—when life is regarded as little worth, and when numbers, and habits of discipline, and the resolution derived from despair, cause enterprises to seem feasible which, under other circumstances, would appear to be fraught with nothing but the destruction of comforts actually enjoyed, and to be productive of future misery. *The Irish poor will never bear famine with the patience of the Chinese*; and let those at the head of affairs weigh well the consequences likely to follow from the very rapid increase of such a people, disaffected to the government, and increasing, in a state of misery, which, they imagine, admits but of little aggravation.

CHAPTER XII.

INFLUENCE OF THEIR CREED UPON IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

I WILL not dwell longer on the wretchedness of the Irish peasantry, or on the causes in which it originates. If the government and the gentry are disposed to co-operate, the causes can readily be discovered and remedied; and if the gentry will not be persuaded, that it is for their interest to have the proper inquiries made, I cannot hope that any further suggestions from me on the subject could be serviceable. I shall, therefore, in this place, confine myself to some practical considerations on the temper of the Irish people, and the spirit of their parties, and point my reader's attention to the probable consequences of such a temper and spirit upon the welfare of the country.

I have already illustrated, as clearly as I could, the sentiments of the Irish peasantry

with respect to the most heinous crimes of which man can be guilty. Mr .O'Driscoll, in his Sketches of Ireland, (and he will not be accused of favouring the ascendancy party) declares, that the peasantry *never attach any idea of guilt to the perpetration of murder.* They call it a war, and the act is crime no longer. I quote Mr. O'Driscoll's sentiments, merely for the purpose of sparing my readers a long induction of instances in proof of the conclusion at which he has arrived. I remember having heard a ruffian, who was apprehended for murder, complain grievously of being hand-cuffed and bound, *" as if he was a sheep-stealer ;"* and I could furnish many similar instances, serving to show, that Mr. O'Driscoll's opinion is perfectly warranted by the fact. But, on such a question, an assertion so little creditable to the party for whom he writes is not likely to be disputed.

This accounts sufficiently for the indisposition on the part of the people to give evidence by which a murderer may be convicted ; they have no horror of the offence ;

and they will not, consequently, expose themselves to danger, and incur odium in support of a system of justice with which they are unacquainted.

It is very important to inquire how such a spirit has arisen amongst our people. It is an unnatural spirit, and evidently symptomatic of some secret influence, powerful enough to counteract all moral instincts, and to obscure all notions of justice and retribution. I wish to write with all fairness and liberality, and although my leaning in forming a judgment is, naturally, towards mildness, yet I cannot but consider, that the clergy of the church of Rome are vitally concerned in the answer to the question, *how their flocks have become so demoralized?* I do not by any means expect, that the exertions of a priesthood should be efficient in preventing all crime; but I must think, that a clergyman is deeply responsible for the *notions entertained of crime* amongst the people committed to his charge. And if, amongst a people attending to his ministry, and respecting his office, and believing in the reli-

gion which he professes, there shall grow up an opinion, that the most monstrous crime is reconcileable with the exactments of religion, it is not uncharitable to suppose, that the principles inculcated, and the religion professed, by such a clergyman, are not in accordance with the law of God, or adapted to the exigencies of man's nature.

It is not to be forgotten, that the indication of such a spirit as that to which I have been alluding, is much more alarming, if it appear in a Roman Catholic community, than among those who adhere to religious systems of less complicated structure. *There is no possibility of obtaining a knowledge of the doctrines of the church of Rome.* One part of its rule of faith is unwritten; and when among the members of such a church, there appears to have been adopted some maxim which outrages the pure law of God, it is not possible to say that the church is not concerned, because we have no means of judging, whether it, in all cases, rejects such a maxim; and whether this may not be one of the cases, in which, for the glory or interest of the

church, the law of God is to be suspended for a season, and the instincts of our nature to be counteracted by the operation of a principle, which, how monstrous soever it may be, is yet expected to serve some important end. In any other community, professing to respect and obey the moral law, we should conclude, that any principle contrary to that law was a departure from the doctrines which they held; but in the church of Rome, as we do not know (and I defy the most ingenious churchman to show how it is possible that we can know) what its doctrines are; we cannot say, whether the most abominable principle may not have been, in order to the attainment of some particular end, admitted for a time into their code of morals, and incorporated with their church system. History is full of instances in which the church of Rome *authoritatively* set aside, for a time, *the law of God*, when it militated against *the interests of* the church; and the cases are too well known to require any particular notice.

When a maxim in opposition to the law

of God is received amongst our peasantry, and the consequences of it are dreadfully apparent, it would become, in any case, a question, whether or not the clergy set themselves in array against it; but, from what has been said, the question becomes much more important when demanded with respect *to the clergy of the church of Rome.* What have the clergy of that church been doing, while the atrocious spirit of assassination was waxing strong in the minds of their people? We were told, that they were assiduously engaged *in instructing their flocks.* Copious accounts of schools and books and systems of catechising, have been laid before the public. For some years back, it would appear, the clergy have been particularly assiduous; and, during the time in which their zeal has been most apparent, *the demoralization of their people has been most rapidly and most tremendously increased.* Let any man compare the character of our peasantry of the present day, with what it was twenty years since, *and I will venture to say, that the history of the whole world will not supply him*

with an instance of so awful a deterioration. And yet, while the peasantry are every day affording some horrible manifestation of the spirit that possesses them, we hear ourselves called upon, by unthinking or unprincipled men, to offer the homage of our praise to their pastors! The priests, we are told, are doing every thing! Never was nation so blessed in a clergy! and what are the blessings? Where are the fruits of their pious labours? Where shall we look for them? In the knowledge of the people? they think murder justifiable. In their happiness? in their tranquillity? in their actions? In what part of Ireland shall we look for the benefits derived from the Roman Catholic priesthood? Shame to the declaimers, who, while they see a people perfidious, blood-thirsty, remorseless, *and having become so within the last twenty years,* can, nevertheless, pronounce their pastors entitled to the praise of having faithfully discharged their duty.

There are men who say, that, bad as is the state of the south, it might have been worse

but for the exertions of the clergy; *I totally, and without qualification deny the assertion.* I pronounce, that the condition of the south *could* not be worse than it was in some of the counties, *until the operation of the Insurrection Act, or the success of the disturbers, produced a partial tranquillity.* Much better would it have been for the government of the country, far preferable the condition of loyal men, had the insurgents *openly banded together in public opposition to the armies of our sovereign.* I assert, fearlessly, that the state to which Ireland was reduced, and the spirit which took possession of the minds of its disturbers *were the worst that could possibly be apprehended.* I speak, of course, with reference to the present time. A moment may arrive, when open insurrection might be still more formidable; *but, for the present time, it is not possible to imagine a more afflicting and appalling picture than that which parts of the south of Ireland long exhibited.*

The spirit in the minds of the peasantry is appalling, not only by reason of its immediate consequences, but also as it keeps

a large body of people ready to break out into any kind of excess to which they may be stimulated. They have no such moral feeling as would make them shudder to commit crime, they have no such sense of comforts to be enjoyed, as would cause them to dread the law; and it is, of course, no difficult matter to make them engage in any perilous enterprize, where there is any thing to reward exertion, or towards which their vindictive passions impel them. It considerably increases the perplexity and alarm with which one reflects upon the character of the Irish peasantry, to observe, that, within a very short period, *a very acrimonious spirit, with respect to religious differences, has taken the place of the comparative charity of former years.* Formerly, they were satisfied with the notion, that *heretics* should suffer for their sins in another world; now they begin to change speculation into practice, and to imagine that they ought not permit them to cumber the ground any longer. I have, at this moment, lying before me, two pamphlets, which describe some traits cha-

racteristic of our peasantry at two different periods; and, although the interval between the publication of these tracts is short, the alteration of which they give notice is most alarming. One, published in 1817, is entitled, "The Bible, not the Bible Society;" and the other, the production of this year, "Observations on J. K. L's Vindication." I select, from the former, a passage containing a most faithful sketch of the peasantry of that day, and from the latter, one which is equally faithful in describing the change they have experienced. "The peasantry," observes Mr. Phelan, "however ignorant, are shrewd and observant; they have noticed the indifference with which their clergy are treated by their more elevated brethren, and they have not been idle spectators; the same spirit is gradually extending to them, and beginning to display itself in very manifest symptoms. The influence of the priests * with

* Mr. Phelan's account of the Roman Catholic clergy is so correct that I would consider it injustice to my reader not to lay it before him. After speaking of the

" those people is notoriously on the decline;
" and there occur frequently, and without
" remark, instances of a sturdy opposition
" to their will, which, but a few years ago,
" would have been regarded by the whole
" parish as most awful indications of an
" abandoned cast-away." This was a most correct picture of the peasantry until the close of 1817. They were beginning to release

advantages which those clergy had, in point of respectability, from their education, in past times, on the continent, and the respect with which, as strangers, they were treated, he proceeds to consider the clergy of the present day. "The more respectable classes have now other professions open to them; the traders and farmers have become rich, and ambitious at least in proportion to their riches; the children of all these are destined otherwise; and in fine, there is scarcely a Roman Catholic in the country able to educate his son liberally who could think for a moment of his becoming a priest. This circumstance will appear of more consequence if it be considered what importance is attached by the lower Irish to *gentility*, as distinct from wealth or station. In addition to all this, we should remember that there is now no train of accidents to give an *eclat* to their entrance upon the ecclesiastical profession. They leave school at an advanced age, scarcely ever before twenty, and they return from college in four years after. During this period they are seen by their

themselves from all superstitious reverence for their clergy; and I remember it to have been quite a usual thing for peasants to be married according to the church of England form, in order to save the expense of paying the priest. This never happens in my country now, and is, I believe, practised in no part of Ireland.

The second passage I select from the "Observations on the Vindication." It is an account of the dangers to which a reformed priest had been exposed. The author

former associates and future flocks for a long portion of every year; they return, at vacations, to the cottages of their parents, and are distinguished from their old companions by nothing but some very grotesque peculiarities of costume. They are in general the sons of small farmers, and therefore in their boyish years they have not the advantage of acquiring that degree of smartness which is the usual consequence of education in a town; and the time of their sojourn at Maynooth is passed in utter seclusion, so that they have no means of acquiring what is called a knowledge of the world, or an acquaintance with the forms of genteel society. The natural consequence of all this is, what I mentioned before, an universal disrespect for the priests among the more opulent classes of the Roman Catholic community." "*The Bible, not the Bible Society,*" Second edition, page 50.—51.

of the Observations is commenting upon a sentiment expressed by J. K. L. intimating, that salvation was attainable by conscientious heretics, except such as "had "of themselves adopted," not having "been "born, in error."* "I am myself," he proceeds, "acquainted with an individual of "irreproachable character, who, from the "most conscientious persuasion, conformed "to the established church. Strange to "say, he became Protestant curate of the "very parish in which he had been a Roman "Catholic curate; and, such was the ex-"cellence of his character, that, still more "strange to say, he retained the good-will "and esteem of many amongst his Roman "Catholic parishioners. But this was not "sufficient to secure him against the ven-"geance of the more furious bigots of that "persuasion. There were three several at-"tempts made upon his life. He has sworn, "that the first was made by the priest who "succeeded him, who attacked him with

* Preface to the second edition.

" a bludgeon, on the open road, as he was " going to visit a sick man. The next was " made while he was in bed, when a shot " was fired, and a ball lodged very near his " head. The third was made when he was " returning home, after having dined with " his bishop; a number of shots were, on " this occasion, fired at him, and one of the " balls passed through his hat, and raised " the skin* of his head. He was duly

* This instance of persecution is introduced by the following pertinent observations: Preface, page 23,

" But there is one sentence that is unambiguous, and *that* is the one which declares, by inference, the stern rejection of those who have been conscientiously impelled to depart from the Romish communion. *They* are denounced as without the pale of God's mercy. No matter how imperious the persuasion may have been that led to their conversion, while they continue estranged from " the Church," the Roman Catholic community are thus, in effect, told by one of their bishops, that they have forfeited all hope of salvation, and are under the curse of God. To speak thus, is, literally, to pronounce a sentence of moral outlawry against them. The feeling which the Jews entertained towards St. Paul after his conversion, as described in the New Testament, conveys but a faint idea of the persecution to which a member of the Roman Catholic ministry is

"thankful to God for the escapes he had "had, but judged, that to remain any longer "in that part of the country would be like "tempting providence. He has, accord-"ingly, resigned his curacy, and is, I un-"derstand, about to be employed, shortly, "on a missionary station."

I do not mean to say that outrages, such as these, are to be expected in all parts of Ireland, but I can assure the reader, that the

exposed, if he should become a Protestant. They can bear with any thing but *that*. He may become a profligate, a socinian, an unbeliever, a secret scoffer at all religion, provided he continue in the visible communion of the church. But if the grace of God should reach his heart, and the holy spirit enlighten his understanding, and he become sensible of his errors and led to renounce them, and the system to which they belong, *this* is a scandal which they cannot bear. It is an offence which will neither be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. They are instantly up in arms against him. Nothing is left undone to embitter his life and to blast his character. And if his residence be in a remote and unprotected part of the country, woe betide him! He is daily and hourly put in peril of his life. His existence may be said to be a continued martyrdom.

spirit in which they have their origin, is very widely diffused through the country, and that a degree of religious rancour, which in the year 1717, one would not have anticipated, is now very observable in the sentiments of our peasantry. I could easily understand this, if it were a solitary indication of change. I would say that the priests, neglected by the wealthier classes, devoted themselves altogether to the lower orders, and, to keep up their influence, availed themselves of the prejudices of their flocks, and fanned their resentments into a flame. I would say, too, that, alarmed at the progress of proselyting missionaries, and not, in general, competent to oppose their exertions by fair argument, they adopted the readier method of making all change in doctrine seem odious and destructive.

But the change in the sentiments of the peasantry, *is not the only one* which I have observed. I see the gentry too, very much altered.* I see that the notion of exclusive

* In the valuable pamphlet from which I have already selected the character of the peasantry, the following

salvation has become the tenet of persons who would formerly have rejected it with abhorrence; that the various enactments of the church of Rome are more rigorously complied with, and that there is a much greater aversion from being present at the worship of Protestants than could formerly be observed. This attachment to their religion, will be developing and strengthening itself more and more in the Roman Catholic gentry, *according as the persons educated at the newly established seminaries of the Jesuits, take their places as men in society.* I speak the sentiments of dispassionate *Roman Catholics*, when I say, that the religious rancour

passage occurs: "The country gentlemen are, in general, satiated with the absurdities of their religion, and disgusted with the ignorance of their priests. They are favourably disposed towards reformation, but are restrained chiefly by a certain proud feeling, which, while it cannot safely be praised, should not rashly be censured; and though not exactly consonant to sound philosophy or pure religion, is a precious and an honourable ingredient in the national character," &c. &c. All this and what follows it with respect to the opulent inhabitants of towns *was perfectly appropriate when "the Bible and the Bible Society," was published: it is not so now.*

cultivated in these seminaries is very much deplored, and that the young men, whom they send into the world, go forth prepared not only to contend zealously for their church *in argument*, but, if opportunity offer, willing to defend *it with other weapons*.

The influence of these jesuit establishments is likely to be felt powerfully at no very distant period. I will suppose that the proprietors of them are not ill-affected to British connection, and that they make no efforts whatever to mislead their pupils in political matters, and still, even under such a supposition, the course of education cannot but be detrimental to the cordiality of the union by which this country ought to be attached to England. Every one at all acquainted with the church of Rome, as it exists in Ireland, knows, that the grand object of its ministers is its glory and stability not excluding certainly, the cultivation of Christian feeling, *so far as it is compatible with, or may be subservient to, the more important object*. The species of argument generally adopted in support of their system, is, first, that there must be a true church on

earth; next, that the church of Rome is, alone, pure and heaven descended; and thirdly, that all pretended reformations were not only monstrous in themselves, but also disgraced by the unholy lives of those condemned wretches, in whose bad passions they originated. Now, even supposing that the teachers in Roman Catholic schools never make any attempt to change the political principles of those entrusted to their care, let us for a moment consider what must be the effect of their religious instruction. The young men are taught to receive, as a first principle, a principle never to be shaken, that the church of Rome is the true church, founded by Christ, and infallible in all subjects which respect our eternal welfare. They are taught to submit their own judgments to the decisions of this infallible church, so as that (whatever they might think of any doctrine which it left free) they are bound to believe, that whatever it has pronounced upon any doctrine, or any thing relating to the soul's salvation, *must be true*. Well, these young men find,

I suppose, that the church, by a most solemn act, declared, that Sigismund in violating his safe conduct to John Huss, acted like a prince and a christian.* I beg it to be understood, that I am not accusing the members of the Roman Catholic communion of any assent to such an abominable doctrine; I am considering only the effect which may be produced on young minds. I am perfectly convinced, that if it were proposed simply for their acquiescence, they would reject it with horror and indignation; but if it approach their minds under that imposing authority with which the church of Rome pronounces her dogmas, and with such preparation for it in the heart, as is made by the contempt and abhorrence, which are

* It is curious to read the reasonings of Doctor Delahogue on this subject: where the case seems too strong against him, he takes shelter in the assertion of some critics, that the declaration of the council may not have been genuine; and when it is urged that the council of Trent, in its safe conduct, avows the truth of the declaration, by promising not to use it as a precedent, the Doctor's answer is, that this was merely *to satisfy the fears of the Protestants.*

studiously kept alive against the authors of the reformation, the doctrine which justifies a violated faith will not be seen in its proper deformity, but come clothed in the majesty of the church, and shaded by the clouds of angry passions. The conclusion is plain, that if such a monstrous breach of faith, as that of which Sigismund was guilty, lost all its baseness and criminality, because committed against a heretic, many other crimes committed with a similar intention, become equally pure.

The point I wish to insist on is this, that such a doctrine as I have been speaking of, could never be tolerated by a mind free in the exercise of its judgment, and not possessed by a spirit of religious rancour; but that, where the judgment is prostrated, and the heart emptied of its natural charities, any doctrine may be received which comes recommended by an infallible church, and welcomed by vindictive passions.

I have hitherto considered the consequences of religious instruction, supposing it to be communicated by persons *not ill-affected to British connection.* But is such

a supposition the truth? Let any man peruse the writings of Doctor Doyle, the chosen champion of the Roman Catholic faith, and call his reluctant and mournful acquiescence in the necessity of such connection, by the name of cordial attachment to it; and if there be found a man so dull as not to see how the bias of J. K. L.'s mind inclines, let him read the "Miscellaneous Observations of "S. N." and I defy him to rise from their perusal without being perfectly convinced, that the approved champion and vindicator of the Roman Catholics, is held in his accordance with British rule, only by the operation of a stern and lamented necessity.

If we suppose the teachers at Clongowes possessed of a similar spirit, it is easy to conceive the effect of their instructions. They will not *preach* sedition; they will not inculcate, *directly*, principles of disaffection; but they will inspire a mournful and romantic veneration for the ancient faith*; they

* "The Irish, my Lord, are a fondly national people. They know little of their ancestors, but they believe of them every thing that enters into their conceptions of worth and greatness, and they feel a high although

will foster a feeling of hatred against the nation which cruelly overthrew it; they will revive the remembrance of past sufferings into such a stinging consciousness, that memory shall have more power to agitate the soul, than present circumstances to allay its disorder; they will make the Roman Catholic gentry of the nineteenth century pass over the lapse of years, and identify themselves in feelings and interests with their predecessors, who would not survive the cause they defended; and all this may be done, simply, by engaging the mind in one class of studies, and by pre-occupying it with one class of images, against the thoughts and sentiments which might be effectual, to neutralize a pernicious zeal, or counteract a dangerous enthusiasm.

mournful consolation in turning from their own condition to the supposed freedom and happiness of other times. They receive their religion as the last bequest, and the last token which remains to them of their almost canonized forefathers, and they cling to it with a devoted and desperate fidelity."

First Letter of Declan, p. 78.

If it be probable, that the influence of Roman Catholic education may be such as I have described, it seems an object well deserving attention, to ascertain what numbers of the gentry are exposed to the operation of such a system. It appears to me to be a fact well deserving notice, that, *in my country*, there is not a single Roman Catholic gentleman, (I speak, of course, as to my own knowledge,) who did not receive his education at a *Protestant* school; and that all the Roman Catholic boys whom I have known to be placed at school within the last few years, have been, with scarcely any exceptions, *sent to Roman Catholic seminaries*. I should observe, also, that this circumstance is not owing altogether to the merit of these institutions. It does not appear to me, that such students as I have met with were well educated; but I do not profess to be a competent judge. At all events, whatever the merits of the seminaries may have been, they were not left dependant upon them alone. The priests, in private, and from the altars, *commanded the Roman Catholic gentry* to withdraw their

children from Protestant schools, *and in many instances they were obeyed.* The consequence, in my opinion, is this; that the Roman Catholic gentry, who are now approaching man's estate, *may be tainted by those odious opinions and principles, from which their parents were perfectly free.*

But whatever be the nature of the opinions they imbibe, they will have their minds moulded into an accordance with the leading principles of their teachers, and their hearts stamped with a passionate and enduring zeal for what they call the old religion. Let this be looked to in time. If, at this day, when the Roman Catholic gentry cling to British connection as tenaciously as the generality of Protestants; when they feel that their power and wealth and consequence have their safest guarantees in the protection of the British government, the state of Ireland is a state of continued discontent and disorder; if the mass of the people, discountenanced in their lawlessness, as well by the gentry of their own communion as by the gentry of the establishment, are con-

tinually heaving into new tumults, either from the efforts of some unseen agitator, or in consequence of their own wants and miseries; what must be the state of things, when the nurtured enthusiasm of the gentry, their principles, their remembrances, their enterprize, shall give dignity to the popular cause, and the hatred of England shall no longer be the raging of a sightless giant, but be guided and impelled by judgments that are as sound as its ardour is devouring?

The state of the Roman Catholics is briefly this; a people increasing rapidly in numbers, and daily sinking into greater wretchedness, and yet possessing an energy and a freshness of feeling, in which their minds are strongly contrasted with the monotony of their miserable lives; the old gentry, those who would warn them against improper courses, and keep up, in their minds, a salutary belief, that their sufferings were capable of increase, dropping off, and a new class of gentry appearing, one by one, in different parts of the country, who, although they may not entertain, as yet, any

design hostile to the government, are, nevertheless, possessed by sentiments of immitigable hatred towards the nation which they are, perhaps, instructed to believe, by such cruel and fraudulent means, subverted the dignity of their country, and extinguished the splendour of their church. If Doctor Doyle, whose passions are to be supposed under the controul of reason and religion, and whose expressions we are to suppose moderated by a consideration of the circumstances under which he wrote, expressed himself with such unqualified detestation of every thing connected with British connection *as to think tithes odious, because a British monarch granted them to the church;* it is easy to judge what the language of a young man may be, who comes fresh from the controversies of a Roman Catholic seminary, and addresses himself to persons who will teach him to glory in his warmth, by sympathizing with him even to the top of his bent.

If the people had any comforts, such a state of things would be, perhaps, but

little to be dreaded; but being, as they are, in a state of utter destitution, they have every thing to gain by successful enterprize, and nothing to lose except a possession which, in their own estimate, and even that of their friends, has ceased to be of much importance. *This causes the danger of Ireland.*

The consequences of such a state of things may be prevented by taking advantage of the interval which must elapse before events are ripe for insurrection. Perhaps a few years were never of more importance, considered in a political point of view, than those which are now granted to the British government, to use for the settlement of this country, or to misuse for its destruction. Various modes of inducing quiet and orderly habits are prescribed by various political empyrics. "The people will be "discontented say some, while the penal "laws are in force." "No tranquillity for "Ireland," others cry out, "until the tithes "and tithe proctors are thrown as a sop to "Captain Rock's voracity." Another class

insists, that our danger is owing to a combination of both causes—penal laws and the church establishment; and that the removal of one will not procure quiet; but that, if both be removed at once, if a grant of Catholic emancipation, and a gift of church temporalities be conferred at the same time, the double boon will rise upon the land like the twin constellation of the ancient mariners, and all political agitation shall subside, and all looks of angry menace be chased away, and all discontents be charmed into a most blessed calm before the influence of all-powerful conciliation.

I said before, that foolish as such empyricism may be, it was not without its use. There may be persons at work secretly in this country, who would not admit into their councils men without sense or modesty; but who might, nevertheless, adopt their exertions as a kind of a screen, just as a skilful juggler employs grimace and noise to divert attention from his real occupation, and from his preparations for the master feat. There may be other uses to which it is subser-

vient. *The "Catholic Association" certainly has appeared in a new light.* I do not know what may have been said at its meetings; I can know only how the press (through which alone it is efficient), reports its proceedings; and I will venture to assert, that if old notions of morality prevailed among the members of that body, or if what is commonly called a sense of honor was strong in them, Mr. O'Connell would have been forced, by the unanimous vote of a full assembly, to seek redress against the newspaper proprietors or reporters, who would be considered as having laboured to represent him to the world AS A RUFFIAN AND A COWARD. It will be readily understood, that I am alluding to a paragraph which lately appeared, relative to the archbishop of Dublin, in which Mr. O'Connell is made to say, *that if there were a spirit of assassination in the country, the archbishop would not be alive!* Mr. O'Connell complains, that the "Correspondent" newspaper has misrepresented his meaning. It may be so; I do not quote from the Correspondent. *It is from a paper in the Roman Ca-*

tholic interest I derived my information; and, at all events, the matter of importance is, not what may have been said at the board, but what the newspapers report, as having been delivered there. Mr. O'Connell, however, although stating that his words were misrepresented, admits that he uttered something not at all unlike the passage given in the paper.* It would be not unworthy of him to state, why he introduced such a topic as that of "assassination." It seems to be one which was quite irrelevant to the subject upon which he was speaking. The archbishop of Dublin had put forward nothing to call for Mr. O'Connell's observations on such a topic. Why then was it introduced? And why was the archbishop of Dublin's name coupled with that of lord Clare, except by such an association of ideas as is implied in the anecdote of the reply to

* It had been said to lord Clare, that there was not a spirit of assassination in Ireland; else why was *he* alive; "and I," Mr. O'Connell is made to say, "would "address the same expression to the archbishop of "Dublin."

his lordship? It is quite certain, that Mr. O'Connell, according to his own showing, alluded to lord Clare, as the person, in *his* day, most suitably an object for assassination; that with his lordship's name and dangers, he associated the name of the archbishop of Dublin; *and that he leaves the thoughts thus awakened to work in the minds of the Irish people, and to break out into any kind of action which enthusiasm and fanatic intolerance may suggest.*

Mr. O'Connell's honour (if honour at the association be what it is in the rest of the world) is concerned in vindicating himself from the imputations cast upon him by the public papers. It is not sufficient to say that he has been misrepresented. He should state what were actually the sentiments he uttered, *and he should punish, as far as the law will allow him, those persons who falsely imputed to him language which only the base and dastardly could use.*

If Mr. O'Connell were unacquainted with the spirit by which the minds of our countrymen is possessed, perhaps he might not

be fully sensible of the disgrace with which his character has thus become associated—if he were not aware of the multitudes amongst whom his words are precious, he might satisfy his conscience that he had done enough to neutralize the poison conveyed under the sanction of his name, through the medium of the public prints. But Mr. O'Connell is not unacquainted with the *extent* of his influence, nor with the characters of those persons over whom it *extends. It is not more than two months since he avowed his knowledge of both particulars.* Let any one take the trouble to read the speech delivered by him at Limerick, on Monday, the 22d of March, and he will see *what a perfect conviction there was in the mind of Mr. O'Connell that* A MOST DIABOLICAL SPIRIT PREVAILS IN IRELAND. He there spoke distinctly of the practices of murder and midnight assassination; he stated that, in consequence of such a spirit, the Roman Catholic gentry, who would not yield "even "an indirect countenance to such detestable "proceedings," had held no public meetings.

He expressed, in a very animated strain, his own abhorrence of the practices of the people, and told them that God would punish "the murderer and the midnight assassin." He also stated that he expressed his sentiments so fully, because he knew that his words would be repeated. Mr. O'Connell, therefore, must feel that, when all these circumstances are taken into account, *nothing like a menace from him can be considered as a mere levity.* He knows how little human life is regarded among the people who, as he imagines, hold him in honour. He knows how his words are repeated among these people; *and when he denounces any man as a proper object for vengeance, he ought to know, that he is giving a direction to base and malignant passions, which only the providence of God, or a sense of personal danger, will prevent them from taking.*

The "Association," if they allow, and they will allow, the imputation to rest upon them, that they tolerate the language ascribed to their great leader, will thus be reflecting a new feature of the class of persons they represent; they will appear to be not only

"the mirror of Catholic sentiment," but also the bravos of the Catholic mob.

Such is the temper of this body, associated for the purpose of procuring from the British government, by constitutional means, the emancipation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. I look upon this last menace as the most remarkable indication that the "Association" may possibly become as mischievous as it is contemptible. Hitherto they confined themselves to intemperate harangues, and violent abuse of their opponents; and as they do not belong to the gentry, and were not bold enough to join the sworn disturbers, their harangues, (except in the corporate towns) were, for the most part, disregarded. But now they speak out boldly—they have, as they say, succeeded in putting the country under contributions; and they have, and this is the most alarming indication of all—*effected a union with the Roman Catholic clergy.*

Of this body I have spoken in various parts of the preceding pages. I have endeavoured to show that they are not to be

supposed cordially attached to British connection. I have endeavoured to show, that nothing but extreme ignorance can be the wretched excuse of those who speak of their influence with the people having been exerted to charm down the disturbances. I might have spared my reader the trouble of perusing my arguments.—*Doctor Doyle, a Roman Catholic bishop, has boldly stated, that the government must not calculate on the assistance of the clergy of his church in their efforts to tranquillize the country.* His words are these—" The minister of England cannot " look to the exertions of the Catholic priest- " hood; they have been ill-treated, and they " may yield for a moment to the influence " of nature, though it be opposed to grace. " *This clergy, with few exceptions, are from* " *the ranks of the people, they inherit their* " *feelings; they are not, as formerly, brought* " *up under despotic governments, and they have* " *imbibed the doctrines of Locke and Paley,* " *more deeply than those of Bellarmine, or even* " *of Bossuet, on the divine right of kings*; they " know much more of the principles of the

" constitution than they do of passive obe-
" dience. *If a rebellion were raging from*
" *Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of*
" *excommunication would ever be fulminated*
" *by a Catholic prelate, or, if fulminated, it*
" *would fall, as Grattan once said of British*
" *supremacy, like a spent thunder-bolt, 'some*
" *gazed at it, the people were fond to touch*
" *it.'*"

No wonder, surely, that the letter in which such a passage occurs, a letter addressed to a member of the British parliament, should create, as the newspapers paid by the Association tell us, " a strong sensation" wherever it is read. A bishop of the church of Rome warns the government, that they are not to expect his assistance, or that of the Romish clergy, if an insurrectionary spirit should rage throughout the country. A bishop of the Romish church announces to six millions of people, that, if they rise in insurrection against the government, *they need not fear the censures of their church*; and declares, that if any prelate be weak enough to fulminate a censure, it must fall innocuous; Doctor Doyle best

knows why. I must conclude, from the temper of his epistle, that it is, because the people shall have been previously so fortified by a sense of the justice of their cause, and so well assured of the sanction of their religion, that they will regard any censure which may be issued, *as a mere show to delude England, and not intended in any respect to influence them.* No wonder that such a menace to the British government—such an encouragement to rebellion in Ireland, should produce a most "powerful sensation." *England is not worthy of her high estate, if it do not completely undeceive her.*

As to Doctor Doyle's proposal for a union of the churches of Ireland and of Rome, I cannot understand his intentions. It is only two months since he denied salvation to all who forsake his church (Defence, page 68); now, he professes to believe that all points of difference between the two churches require only explanation in order to an easy adjustment! I confess, it seems to me as if no ordinary mode of explanation could reconcile the doctor's opposing statements. Is

he serious in proposing a union? or is it merely intended as a bait to draw the attention of the committee of the House of Commons, at present sitting on the state of the disturbed districts, away from the proper object of their inquiries. I cannot believe that such could be Doctor Doyle's intention. Perhaps he is the instrument of some more designing person, who dreads that some facts relative to the Romish clergy may be discovered, such as it might be disagreeable to have known, and who employs the doctor to lead the committee into a new subject; and, if all fail, to anticipate the consequences of discovery, by the character which he has ascribed to the clergy of his church.

With respect to the abstract consideration of such an union, I can see no insurmountable difficulties. *As yet,* the great majority of the gentry apparently members of the church of Rome, are (where they are not deists) in reality church of England Protestants; and the great peculiarity of the church of Rome, that of its having *no settled doctrine,* gives it a power of easily accommodating its tenets

and ceremonies to those of a more orthodox people. But I am very far from believing that a union, if it were effected, would tranquillize the country. The "Catholic Association," certainly, if they still aspired after notoriety, must choose new subjects of complaint; but the great mass of the people would still have the same causes for discontent as those which now excite them to disturbance. The union of the churches *would not lower the rents, nor wipe off the arrears, nor accustom the people to habits of comfort.* It is from their *miseries* the danger of the country proceeds; they are impoverished, and, of course, discontented. The sense of the oppressions and miseries with which they are ovewhelmed is strong in them, therefore they are continually assailing the foundations of the government; and whenever they shift their weary side, the whole island trembles!

Relieve the people from this misery, let in one cheering hope upon them, and, in six months, I would defy the Romish clergy and the Catholic Association;—leave the people

in their distress, *and every measure of imperfect relief will be only making them more formidable enemies.*

And for their full relief what do I ask? I do not call for the return of the absentees; I do not call for English capital; *I demand only, that the landlords should join the government in giving some security that the tenant shall not be asked to pay more* THAN HIS FARM IS WORTH. Let this be done in some effectual way, and the people will feel their interests identified with those of the government, and will soon be restored to that soundness of constitution which scorns the aid of all vile empyrics; and the farming classes will come forward in support of the measures of salutary severity which the government may find it necessary to adopt, (although I have good hopes that severity would soon be uncalled for), and give them an energy and an efficacy which otherwise they can not have. The government will thus have procured a party in the country such as they have not yet possessed; and if the people

should still continue refractory, severity will be justifiable, because circumstances imperiously demand it. But all experience teaches us to expect a more satisfactory result. The people will, it is to be hoped, respect the government from which they feel such wholesome influences descending upon them; and the character of Ireland will soon be so improved, as to procure for her all those advantages which her most efficient well-wishers might now petition for in vain.

If the British government, if the Irish landlords are really anxious to serve this country, their course is plain. Give the Irish peasantry hope; let them be made to feel *that it is in their power to better their condition,* and they will soon become desirous of improvement. To give effect to the desire of improvement, I need not repeat, should be the great object of legislation; and how such an object can be attained where no hope exists, it is not possible to imagine. Surely, none of those benevolent associations for bettering the condition of the poor, can, without such a foundation to

work upon, render any essential service; nor can the political measures, which it is so much the passion of the times to contemplate, serve at present, the important purposes for which they are desired. The perfect freedom of corporations might, certainly, extend more generally those commercial advantages, which are now confined to a chosen few; the grant of Catholic emancipation might open places of honour or emolument to the Roman Catholic gentry; *but the peasantry might as well expect warmth from the stars,* as hope to derive any benefit from a measure, which could do little more than gild the very summits of society. Emancipation, as the agitators represent it, may be truly called a "phantom which only "flies" before the people, "to lure them to "their doom." If, at the present time, the thoughts and anxieties of reasoning men turn most constantly and with greatest alarm to our agricultural population—our dense and miserable agricultural population —surely it is not honest or prudent to hide from one's own eyes, or to attempt conceal-

ing from others the great cause of evil and of apprehension. The peasantry are without hope, *except the hope of rebellion.* And this is a hope which they would gladly exchange for a better; but which will for ever visit them in some shape or other, so long as their misery continues. Let them be made to feel, that industry and frugality and honesty, will serve their interests better than their present headlong courses, *and then,* the various associations will have energies to direct, and the measures of the government will be freed from that embarrassment which must for ever impede them, so long as they are directed not against the *cause* of disorder in Ireland, but against the *symptoms* of it.

I know well, that it requires a stout and honest heart, to search diligently and faithfully into the true causes of our turbulence. The evil is so great, and the remedy must be so extraordinary, that many shrink from the contemplation of either, and abandon themselves blindly and desperately to the mercy of circumstances. With the infatuation of an embarrased man, who feels bankruptcy and

ruin coming upon him, and instead of endeavouring to protect himself against the approaching evil, seeks only to divert his mind from the prospect of his difficulties, they suffer the real dangers of Ireland to increase, while they are wasting, upon temporising and frivolous expedients, a strength which, well directed, might renovate their country.

And what purpose can such expedients answer? To keep Ireland in its present state; a state in which nothing less than a sense of duty or a feeling of necessity can cause its gentry to remain at home. And how long can the country be kept in a state in which it will be possible for loyal men to reside in it? Let those, who have more knowledge and more abilities answer the question. Let them observe well the rapid increase of our miserable population; the principles with which the rising generation are becoming familiar; the spirit which has been strengthening itself in the minds of the people; the habits which shall be formed in them, by that constant familiarity

with danger, which arises out of the nature of our present disorders, and the desperation which will be confirming itself in their councils, according as the sense of their miserable condition is more fully impressed upon them. Let those who can judge, weigh well all these things, and determine, whether or not it be advisable to attempt a prompt and decisive measure, which may cut off, at once, from all motives to insurrection, the great source of their strength; or, by an unsteady and a timid policy, to suffer all those motives to concentrate into a degree of force, which it will be impossible to subdue, without adopting measures which the mind shudders to think of.

APPENDIX.

N° 1.

THE writer of the "Letter to the Lord Lieutenant," occasioned by the various publications reflecting upon the character and conduct of the Archbishop of Dublin, after having briefly noticed some most unfounded aspersions which had been cast upon his Grace, by a person whom he found it necessary to prohibit from officiating in his diocese, thus proceeds:

"It is lamentable to perceive how slowly the public benefits by experience. Mobs, it has been said, have short memories; and it may be added, that they have no consciences. The twentieth calumny against an eminent individual is believed with as much malignant eagerness, as if the nineteen preceding ones had never been refuted. There is a kind of depraved appetite for slander that literally grows by what it feeds on; and you could no more stop the mouth of one of those moral canibals who prey on human character, by convincing him that the report which he was spreading was a lie, than you could prevail upon a hungry wild beast to desist from a carcass by a logical argument.

"Accordingly, the uproar excited by Mr. Taylor had scarcely subsided, when a different pretext for offence

and scandal was found. In his grace's primary visitation charge, *addressed to, and intended for his clergy alone*, he took occasion to impress upon them very strongly the necessity of attending strictly to the discipline of the church; he pointed out in a clear and convincing manner the evils likely to arise from a neglect of it, and he added some words descriptive of the situation of the established religion in this country. On the one side, says he, we have "a church without what "*we can call* a religion. On the other, we have "a religion without *what we can call* a church." He thus, in a few words, expressed a sentiment that is as old as the reformation, and not offensive to any party, unless so far as a strict agreement with the church of England can be considered an offence. But it would almost seem as if he had uttered some magical words by virtue of which the four winds of controversy were let loose upon him. Little could he have calculated upon the fierce and unrelenting warfare which he was doomed to encounter, for a simple and honest profession of his faith; or imagined that in this age of liberality, the religion of the state was the only one for which there was to be no toleration.

"Did he say that the Roman Catholics had not what *they might call* a religion? Did he say that the dissenters had not what *they might call* a church? No. He did not utter a word that impugned the right of private judgment; and he was only exercising himself the same privilege which he was willing to concede to them, when he briefly and emphatically pointed out to his clergy what he conceived to be the defects in their respective systems. Could it be supposed for one

moment that he meant to claim for his own religion a monopoly of virtue; or to deny that there have been and may be found amongst both the Roman Catholics and the sectaries very eminent instances of piety and holiness. Indeed it could not. No honest man could for one moment think so. The whole object of the archbishop was, to impress those whom he addressed with a just notion of the *precise position* occupied by the established church, opposed as a system of *apostolical* doctrine, to the Roman Catholics on the one hand, and as a system of *apostolical* discipline to the sectarians on the other. He was laudably anxious to guard his clergy against the prevailing latitudinarianism of the day; against that spurious liberality which seeks popularity in a compromise of vital principles; and he aimed at nothing more than being a *seasonable remembrancer* of an admonitory precept, that it is at present most particularly incumbent on all true churchmen to hold steadily in mind, but which, when properly understood, is not more agreeable to truth than it is consistent with charity.

"Do the dissenters hesitate to tell us that we have not what *they can call* a religion? Do the Roman Catholics hesitate to tell us that we have not either *what they would call* a religion or a church? Do many of them even make any show of courtesy in conveying what they consider these *home truths*?—How is it reasonable, then, that *they* should take offence at the language of the archbishop? Truly they seem to imagine that they have a kind of *prescriptive right* to the use of obloquy and slander; and that because the established clergy have been hitherto meek and passive

under insult and injury, they have therefore forfeited the privilege of defending either themselves or the church. One would think that *prudence alone* was sufficient to teach our sectaries some little caution in the disclosure of such a sentiment; at least that it was not to be *openly* avowed, until they had become possessed of power to carry into effect their *ultimate intentions*. But the same providence that has armed the *head* of the rattle snake with such a deadly poison, has also rendered it necessary that he should forewarn his intended victim of his approach *by the tail*, and thus by inspiring him with a timely caution, enable him to elude the danger.

"Alas! my lord, these are fearful times. Formerly our dissenting brethren of every denomination were well content to be tolerated in the profession of their own opinions; now they are not satisfied unless they are permitted to indulge in an intolerance of ours; and it requires no small courage, as well as ability, in a bishop of the established church to perform his bounden duty, namely, "to be ready, with all faithful "diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and "strange doctrine contrary to God's word." Indeed the church has been accused, and with some reason, of a culpable remissness in the prosecution of offenders against its peace and dignity. Hence, it may be said, has it come to pass that it is now in the condition of a man whose humanity prevented him from keeping a cat, until the rats multiplied to such a degree, that his life was in danger. But I regret not its christian liberality. Better to be the assailed than the assailants. We are in the hands of God. The providence that

directed your excellency to appoint such a prelate as Dr. Magee to the primacy of Ireland, forbids us to entertain any desponding anticipations. A high destiny yet awaits our church. Under the guidance of its pious and venerable pastors and prelates, it will ride out the storms that it has to encounter, and ages yet unborn will return thanks to God for its preservation.

" But, my lord, a more serious charge against his grace yet remains, and one to the consideration of which I confess that I cannot approach without fear and trembling. Would that his accusers had suffered me to pass it by in silence, by casting over it the mantle of charity. But the truth must be told. I must not pretend to extenuate his delinquency, and your excellency cannot be more shocked at hearing, than I am in relating the appalling, the monstrous fact, *that his grace is not descended from any great or noble family.* One would think that upon such a subject his adversaries might have safely left him to the reproaches of his own conscience. But no. Their keen sense of justice was not to be thus satisfied: and, as if what they alleged was not sufficiently opprobrious, they have added this further aggravation of it, *that he supported his parents in their old age.* These are misdemeanors for which the most that can be said is, that as they are not of very common occurrence, so it is not necessary to make of him, who is guilty of them, any particular example. I therefore most humbly beseech that your excellency's clemency may be extended to his grace. But let it not be imagined that because I would spare the criminal, I therefore feel any approbation of his crimes. No. On this part of his case his grace must expect to

find me but a poor apologist. For the first, the crime of his nativity, there is, positively, no excuse at all. For the second, the most plausible thing that can be said is to be found in a consideration of the common infirmity of our nature. I once heard the attorney general say of Peter Burrowes, that the only way in which he could account for his prodigal devotion to the interests of his friends *was by supposing him perfectly destitute of the instinct of selfishness.* Whether a consideration of this kind can afford to the mind of the ingenious and excellent person who has undertaken to be the archbishop's biographer, any solid justification for ordinary acts of kindness and courtesy may well be doubted. But no one could be mad enough to urge it as any extenuation of the conduct of his grace in providing for his parents in their old age. He, in the first place, had the impudence to be born without any paternal estate or title. He in the next place had the assurance to apply himself to learning, and, on the ground of literary merit, to obtain fame and station in the world. And in the third place, having been thus fortunate, he was not satisfied with his own success until he made the whole circle of his family and connections sharers in his happiness and prosperity. Truly, my lord, these are appalling accusations. Much credit is due to the pure and honourable minds of those by whom they have been alleged and substantiated. How must the Archbishop of Dublin be abashed and covered with confusion! where shall he hide his head! and how can your excellency be pardoned either by your conscience or your country or your king, for having been instrumental to the elevation of a man who was not

only, at the time of his promotion, notorious for learning and ability, but who has been since so clearly convicted of having been a good husband, a good father, a good son, a good brother, and a good friend.

" But, in sober earnest, do the archbishop's enemies wish to serve him? Are they in his pay? I have been seriously asked these questions by many who have perused their productions. As " praise undeserved " is satire in disguise," so censure undeserved may be considered a kind of oblique panegyric. " Oh that mine " enemy would write a book," says the inspired writer. The archbishop's enemies have anticipated his wish, and, in seeking to humble and disparage him, have furnished matter for the proudest exultation. Like the prophet of old who was hired to imprecate evil upon the people of Israel, they came forth with a design to curse —" and, lo, they have blessed him altogether."—— Although it is impossible to add to the impression that must be made in his favour by a species of hostility that looks almost like ironical compliment, and that nothing but the well-known and rooted malignity of his enemies prevents from being mistaken as the most delicate praise, I cannot entirely deny myself the pleasure of saying a few words expressive of the sentiments of those whose testimony is less at variance with their intentions.

" And here I think it unnecessary to insist on what no one who values his own character can pretend to deny, Dr. Magee's pre-eminent claim to distinction for learning and ability. When in college, he was not more remarkable for the vigour of his understanding than for the goodness of his heart. His attainments as a scholar

were not more calculated to inspire respect, than his warmth and sincerity as a friend, and his courtesy and urbanity as a gentleman, to win and secure esteem and admiration. I question whether there ever was an individual in the university so deeply, so universally, and so permanently beloved. The great powers of his mind were so liberally exerted on behalf of others, and his prodigious intellectual superiority, of the consciousness of which it was impossible that he should divest himself, sat so easy upon him, that those who applied to him for advice or assistance did so with so much faith in the cordial and unostentatious generosity of his nature, that they seemed rather to be drawing upon a banking-house, where they had made a provision to meet their demands, than soliciting what depended upon the will of another. And well might they be thus confident in their appeals to a heart which beats but for purposes of benevolence. There was such an air of frankness in his manner, and his fine countenance so sparkled with delight when employed in the service of his friends, that they might almost be deceived into the belief that they were doing him a favour in permitting him to oblige them. His means and opportunities have been few, compared with those of other men; but I venture to say, that if the number of those who, at one time or another, had reason to acknowledge him as their benefactor, could be collected together, they would form a phalanx before him through which the enemies of the established church, numerous as they are, and who must, of course, be his enemies, would find it difficult to penetrate.

"In our college, the tutors are almost proverbially

kind and generous to their pupils. And they have all so much to do, that it is not surprising if they confine themselves to the care of those of whom they are, in an especial manner, the guardians and instructors. But it was the peculiarity of Dr. Magee, that he was felt as an almost universal benefactor. His presence diffused a cheering and a vivifying influence through the university. As all classes took pride in his talents, so all classes claimed the privilege of his patronage. There were few, from the highest to the lowest of either the fellows or students, who would not, almost instinctively, turn to him for sympathy or assistance in any case of distress or perplexity. And any *appropriation* of his services by his own pupils would be resented as a kind of monopoly, derogatory to him, and injurious to the university.

"A severe devotion to abstract science is not always beneficial to the mind. Attainments, made with difficulty, are commonly valued beyond their importance. Accordingly, many men, eminent for their proficiency in science, have been not a little tinged with pedantry, and inflated with pride, even while they were so obviously without any intellectual character upon general subjects, that, without the grade of collegiate rank, they must sink to a very ordinary level in society. But Dr. Magee's proficiency was so rapid, and made with so much ease, the most formidable difficulties so speedily vanished before his intuitive sagacity, that his success never inspired him with any inordinate self-sufficiency. His mind was never *overlayed* by its vast and various stores of knowledge, nor his natural character disfigured by the slightest shade of affectation. On the

contrary, there appeared, in his whole behaviour, something so undisguised, something so transparent, something so eminently and intrinsically great and excellent, as to render the stamp of academic distinction nugatory and superfluous. Wherever he went, he carried about with him, in the shining qualities of his mind, his own credentials. He seemed rather to have come down from some higher sphere, than to have been raised from some lower one to the station which he occupied. And it was matter of common observation, that the university derived more lustre from its connection with Magee, than Magee from his connection with the university.

" But the sweetest and most engaging instances of his philanthropy, were, undoubtedly, those in which he made it his business and found it his pleasure to direct and animate by his advice the young men in whom he perceived any remarkable degree of ability. While he literally watched over them with the affection of a father, he entered into their views, and concerned himself in their interests with the warmth and familiarity of a friend. Were they desponding, they were cheered; were they negligent, they were counselled; were they straightened by pecuniary difficulties; relief was liberally afforded. Did they experience a difficulty in mastering any of the severer sciences; with all the cares and business of his laborious station upon him, his assistance never was withheld.

" Many are the hours of despondency which hang upon the spirits of the young man, who, unsupported by wealth or patronage, is labouring, by the path of academic distinction, for the attainment of a reputable inde-

pendence. Frequent are the misgivings which damp his ardour in a pursuit in which health is not seldom irrecoverably lost before the object is accomplished. And no one feels, with a more poignant bitterness, "that sickness of the heart which arises from hope "deferred."—How often has Dr. Magee passed, from the sweet privacy of his own domestic circle, to the lonely room of the pale and wasted votary of science, and banished, by his benignant presence, and his cheerful and animating conversation, the morbid melancholy that was preying upon him, and that might otherwise have brought him to an untimely grave? How often have the studies, which were abandoned in disgust or despair, been resumed, at his instance, with alacrity and diligence, and ultimately rewarded with a success by which they never could be attended, but for his generous and inspiriting encouragement?

"Why, my Lord, do I allude to these things? Not, be assured, in the vain hope of doing justice to the character of the archbishop of Dublin. But, seeing that he is made a mark for obloquy, that bigotry has unkennelled her pack upon him, and that scorn seals the lips of his friends, while calumny excites the clamour of his enemies, I could not forbear to offer my tribute of admiration, poor and unacceptable as it is, and to bear my feeble testimony to the worth of a man whose character I have never contemplated without thinking better of human nature."

The topic by which a malevolent hostility is now sought to be excited is, "that his grace issued an order "prohibiting a Roman Catholic priest from officiating "at a Roman Catholic funeral." This the archbishop

denies. It is then stated, "that he issued a general "order, making the prohibition universal throughout "his diocese." This the archbishop and his clergy solemnly and publicly deny. It is then stated, that the archdeacon of Dublin, the Rev. John Torrens, received a *private* order to that effect. The archdeacon makes the most explicit and unequivocal declaration to the contrary. Thus every attempt to connect the archbishop, either directly or indirectly, with the transaction in St. Kevin's church-yard, fails; and his indefatigable enemies, who are determined not to abandon the imputation, are driven to the necessity of pronouncing him and the archdeacon and the clergy of Dublin, "liars!"

The following extract from the Correspondent newspaper, of May 18, is well calculated to expose the falsehood and malevolence of his unparalleled calumniators:—

"The archbishop, we are told, "pretended* (as it is reported in *Saunders' News-Letter* of yesterday) "that

* The following is the passage of Mr. O'Connell's speech, as reported in the public newspapers, in which the above observation occurs. It will serve to give the people of England some idea of this person's decorum and veracity, as well as of the tone and the attitude which he feels that he may assume with impunity, in speaking of one of the first dignitaries of the church of Ireland. He had been alluding with severity to Sir H. Lees, and proceeds;—

"But how can I blame *him*, when even the archbishop has allowed statements to go forth in his name, which are as contrary to truth as light is to darkness. The archbishop had talked of his life being in danger. Sir Harcourt Lees' excuse ought to be extended to him; they were safe! Lord Clare had also thought his life in peril, but descended quietly to

he did not know that Roman Catholic clergymen were in the habit of officiating, or attempting to do so, in church-yards, yet he was the identical Dr. Magee, who, when at Cork in 1818, had *prohibited* Dr. Collin's, had issued an order to his sexton prohibiting *Roman Catholic Clergymen* from officiating in his church-yard." Now, here we have a complication of Mr. O'Connell's peculiar beauties. A petition presented to the House of Lords and Commons had stated, that the practice of free burial had been undisturbed in the church-yards of the parishes of the city of Dublin until the time of the present archbishop, who had issued an order to prevent

his grave. The archbishop (added Mr. O'C.) was as safe, *as if the hardness of his heart had extended over his body, and become as impenetrable as his mind was inaccessible to truth!!!* He pretended he did not know that Roman Catholic clergymen were in the habit of officiating, or attempting to do so, in church-yards, yet he was the identical Doctor Magee, who, when at Cork in 1818, had prohibited,—Dr. Collins ——; had issued an order to his sexton, prohibiting R. C. clergymen from officiating in his church-yard. Dr. C. disregarded his order, and told the sexton to get out of his way. Dr. Magee never after attempted to put his order into execution in Cork. Yet this was the man who, returning defeated to Dublin, now pleaded forgetfulness. If he (Mr. O'Connell) were inclined to bigotry, there he might triumph. There was a Protestant dignitary, *who thought no more of matter of fact than the greatest liar who ran through the streets!!!* He asked if there was any man in the community who believed what the *Protestant* archbishop had asserted?"

Such is the manner in which, owing to the forbearance of the church and the government, this person is permitted to rave. It affords a melancholy specimen of the brutifying influence of his religious and political principles; and shows in the clearest manner what Protestants have to expect if these principles should ever become predominant in Ireland.

its continuance. To this the archbishop replied in his letter to the House of Lords, communicated by the Bishop of Limerick, that he gave no such order, and that he had never, before the affair in St. Kevin's church-yard, known or heard of any attempt even, of a Roman Catholic priest, to officiate in any of the Protestant church-yards in the *city of Dublin.* Now, says Mr. O'Connell, this is a horrible falsehood, which shows that this "Protestant dignitary thinks no more of the matter of fact than the greatest liar who runs through the streets," *for* he knows of a case of the kind which actually occurred *in Cork.*

Here is conviction. But yet farther. The archbishop may well be supposed to have given an order against Roman Catholic clergymen officiating in the church-yards of the city of Dublin—(his denying in the most solemn manner that he did so, only makes it the more credible that he did)—for this "identical Dr. Magee, when at Cork, in 1818, had prohibited Dr. Collins—had issued an order to his sexton, prohibiting *Roman Catholic* clergymen from officiating in his church-yard." Well, now let us come to the fact part. How does that stand? We had occasion, some time ago, to present a view of this subject to the public, when Mr. O'Connell made the very same assertion that he has done here, with the exception, that in the former statement, he introduced an interesting picture of an old woman gathering up leaves in the church-yard, which he has not thought requisite to repeat on this present occasion. However, the rest of his statement is as fresh and strong as if it had not been overwhelmed and extinguished by the simple statement of Dean Magee's order, given in our

paper of the 18th of last November, under the title of *Antimendax*, and which we here give again:—

" *To the Editor of the Mercantile Chronicle.*

" Deanery House, Dec. 9, 1818.

" Sir,—I have seen this morning, in your paper of last Monday, a statement of a transaction relative to the interment in the church-yard of St. Finbar, on the morning of Sunday. In this I am supposed to have intended an insult to the Rev. Dr. Collins, and to his office.

" On this subject I have only to say, that I never knew of the interment, or any circumstance relating to it, till the evening of Sunday; and that, consequently, I neither did, nor could, intend any disrespect to the Rev. Dr. Collins, or to his function.

" I shall content myself with merely transcribing the order which I had issued to the sexton on the 21st of November, in consequence of the intrusion of certain clergymen, by the unauthorized discharge of parochial duties in the parish of St. Finbar's:—

" No clergyman is to be permitted to officiate in " baptisms, marriages, or funerals, at St. Finbar's, with- " out the order of the dean, communicated in writing " to the sexton."

" Deanery House, Nov. 21, 1818. *W. Magee.*"

" As to the observations which you apply to me personally, though not indifferent to public opinion, I take the liberty to decline making any reply.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. Magee."

The above order (as appears fully from the Cork

papers which contain the statements relating to the transaction at the day) had been issued by the then dean of Cork, to prevent the intrusion of clergymen not belonging to the parish of St. Finbar, into the discharge of the occasional duties, to the detriment of the licensed curate of that parish, whose only income arose from the parochial fees; and accordingly the prohibition goes to the "officiating in *baptisms, marriages* and *funerals,*" which, it is sufficiently clear, *could not have been intended for Roman Catholic priests.* It had been issued also, it appears, more than a fortnight before the date of the transaction, and the dean was not only not cognizant of the transaction at the time, but he was unacquainted with every part of the proceeding till some time after it had occurred. *And accordingly, the people of Cork, and the Roman Catholics themselves, were fully satisfied at the time that the order bore no relation whatever to* ROMAN CATHOLICS; *and the very paper, which first published the charge, and in acrimonious terms, and which was edited and principally supported by a Roman Catholic clergyman,* (DR. ENGLAND) *admits at once the falseness of the imputation, in the following words, succeeding the insertion of the dean's letter:* "FROM THIS COMMUNICATION IT IS PLAIN, THAT THE INTERRUPTION EXPERIENCED BY *Dr. Collins,* WAS NOT WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OR AT THE DESIRE OF *Dean Magee;* AND THAT THE LEARNED DIVINE STANDS QUITE FREE FROM THE IMPUTATIONS TO WHICH THE MENTION OF HIS NAME, AS CONNECTED WITH THE CONDUCT OF THE SEXTON OF ST. FINBAR'S, WAS CALCULATED TO GIVE RISE." Here is the declaration in a Roman Catholic print, in the very Roman Catholic print that brought the charge, in the very

Roman Catholic print from which Mr. O'Connell must have derived his knowledge of the transaction, that the order bears no relation whatever to *Roman Catholics*, in addition to the internal evidence that it *could* not; yet Mr. O'Connell tells us plump, that "Dr. Magee had *prohibited Dr. Collins*," and that he "had issued an order prohibiting *Roman Catholic* clergymen from officiating in his church-yard." But then Mr. O'Connell has obtained higher lights since that transaction—for this very Dr. Magee issued his prohibitory order at *St. Kevin's*. Thus the thing is manifest. He issued an order at St. Kevin's, *for* he issued one at St. Finbar's; *and* he issued one at St. Finbar's, *for* he issued one at St. Kevin's. But Dr. Magee has denied both the one and the other. So much the better, as it is notorious that "he thinks no more about matter of fact, than the greatest liar who runs through the streets."

But, again, Mr. O'Connell has another proof that the archbishop is not to be believed; because his statement has been contradicted by the Roman Catholic clergymen of Dublin, whose statements have been admitted to be true. Well, let us see how that is. The archbishop has asserted, that "he never knew of any Roman Catholic priest officiating, or attempting to officiate, at the interment of any individual of the Roman Catholic persuasion in any of the Protestant church-yards of the city of Dublin previous to the transaction at St. Kevin's." And what say the Roman Catholic clergymen of Dublin? Do *they* say that they *had so officiated*? Or do *they* say that they had done so *frequently*—or in *how many* cases they had done so? Or do *they* say that they had in *any case* done so after communication with the clergyman

of the parish, or in his presence, or so as to have come under his cognizance?—Not one word of all this. They only say (in cautious phrase) that *in any case in which any of them was present*, the *form* observed was so and so—in other words, *if* they officiated at all, they officiated in a particular manner. Was ever such an instance of jesuitical evasion? Who inquired about the form, but about the *fact*? And is this to be called a contradiction? The archbishop says *he never knew of their officiating*? They say that IF *they officiated, they did so in a particular manner!* Thus they leave us altogether to seek as to the fact in question. But what *they* have left wanting, *their* parliament has supplied—having at once *resolved* that "the Roman Catholic priests have always officiated at burials in the church-yards of the city of Dublin."

Again, Mr. O'Connell has a proof from the *silence* of the archbishop and his clergy, since the publication of the *resolutions* of the Roman Catholic clergymen. Mr. O'Connell may probably *hear more of that*. The archbishop and his clergy have not indeed communicated their observations upon those resolutions to Mr. O'Connell's convention. But he will probably learn, in good time and place, that they have abundantly exposed the jesuitical evasion and constructive falsehood of those resolutions. Indeed, there is no person who has read them, that does not know the assertion which they imply, but do not dare openly to express, to be *utterly destitute of truth*. If the Roman Catholic priests of Dublin *were* in the habit of officiating (in *any sense* of the word) at interments in the Protestant church-yards of this city, previous to the proceeding at St. Kevin's,

(which is a thing scarcely to be credited,) they must have done so *clandestinely*. And if they *concealed* such proceedings from the established clergy, it seems rather hard to reproach *them* with their ignorance of that which they were prevented from knowing."

I cannot better close what I wish to offer on this part of the subject, than by subjoining the concluding pages of the letter which I have already quoted so much at length.

"Indeed it is but of late that any doubt has been started with respect either to his amiable or shining qualities. There never was a man to whom the first distinction in learning and ability was so unanimously and unhesitatingly awarded by public opinion. So universally prevalent was the persuasion of his important services and his high deserts, that it was long the reproach of the Irish church that he was not numbered amongst her prelates. Then, indeed, the enemies of the establishment had some plausible ground of accusation, when they could point to the neglected merits of such a man as Dr. Magee. What distinction, they used to say, would not be within his grasp, in any other profession, or under any better system. The reproach no longer remains. He has been at length appreciated. The direct and special favour of his sovereign promoted him to the bench of bishops. To your excellency belongs the proud satisfaction of having augmented that dignity, by placing him in the prominent and important station which he at present occupies. The late Dr. Law, bishop of Elphin, used to say to the duke of Richmond, "Make Magee a bishop, and you may promote six "blockheads afterwards." Your excellency, without

availing yourself of the privilege, has more than fulfilled the wish. You have placed in the very *Thermopylæ* of the establishment, a man whose whole mind and heart are in the cause of religion; and whose talents, habits, principles and education so eminently qualify him to be serviceable to the church in the present critical emergency, that he seems, in an especial manner, raised up by Providence to defend her.

"But are the enemies of the church satisfied? How, indeed, should they? Those who could understand their motives for affecting to regret the neglect of such a man formerly, can feel no surprise that they should be angry because of the disinterested discernment that has promoted him now. And they would be still more angry if it could enter into their hearts to conceive how little all that their most inveterate malignity can do or say against him has power to ruffle his temper, or disturb his tranquillity.

"Alas! how little are they acquainted with the power of true religion! How little do they appreciate the efficacy of that heavenly principle which places him who possesses it "beyond the arrows, shouts and "fears of men," and gives him, in the conscious approbation of his God, a "peace which passeth all "understanding!"

"If it were possible to make them understand the sentiment of pity and forgiveness with which his grace regards all their efforts to blacken and to injure him, they might, possibly, be inspired with some feeling of regret for the degree in which they have been led to indulge a shameless and abortive malignity. But blinded, as they are, by bigotry, heated by passion, and

stimulated by revenge, it would be as fruitless to point out to them the error and the sinfulness of their conduct, and to urge them to desist from it by any considerations drawn from reason or religion, as to expostulate with wolves for baying the moon.

Therefore, while the archbishop of Dublin must pity, he cannot help them. Willingly, indeed, would he, if he had the power to do so, dispossess them of the spirit by which they are actuated, and transfuse into them better principles and a purer mind. But the age of miracles is gone by; and it is rather too much to expect that he should, merely to gratify them, and without the hope of doing them any good, abandon his station, neglect his duty, and divest himself of his genius and his virtues. This he could not do, even though they changed the mode of their hostility, and were cruel enough to make him the victim of their praise. In all events, whether prosperous or adverse, whether his words and actions be honoured with their censure or visited with their approbation, he must still continue stedfast and immoveable in the path of his duty, and,

> " Regardless of the stir of this low world,
> " Hold on his heavenly way ;"

cheering by the mild and steady lustre of his affectionate governance that portion of the church over which he has been placed in authority ; and not omitting to pray God, " that it may please him to bring into the way of " truth all such as have erred and are deceived," " and to forgive his enemies, persecutors and slanderers, " and turn their hearts."

APPENDIX.

N° 2.

THE controversy to which Dr. Doyle's defence of the miracles, and attack upon the established church, has given rise, has already attracted some attention in England. A writer in the New Monthly Magazine, who would, indeed, be a valuable friend of truth if his honesty were equal to his ability, represents the doctor as quite triumphant in the contest. I confess, such is not the impression which no inattentive reading of what has been written on both sides has left upon my mind. It is not, of course, for a farmer to set up his opinion upon such a subject against that of a London critic. However, I cannot but think that the critic would have dealt more fairly *if he had condescended to furnish specimens*, on the one hand, of the weakness and the folly which he censured; on the other, of the eloquence and the argument which he eulogized. At present, we have nothing more than his assertion, that Dr. Doyle has been left undisputed master of the field. Although it would be presumptuous to gainsay an opinion so confidently pronounced, yet it will hardly be thought so to adduce one or two instances by which I think that, *at least*, it is not supported. This, if I am

right, may serve to show the people of England the value to be attached to that writer's opinion on other subjects also, where his fine understanding has been put into the harness of his political prejudices. In page 27 of the "Observations occasioned by the Letter of "J. K. L." I find the following passage:—

"I will here beg leave to offer a very obvious remark, but one which I do not recollect to have seen made in the controversy that has arisen upon this subject. Those who have written in defence of the miraculous nature of the late cures, have compared them with such of our Lord's miracles as *they imagine* most liable to the suspicion which they seek to remove. But of these it is quite sufficient to say, that *we* believe in their miraculous nature, because of the evidence which we have in favour of *other* events that were *undeniably miraculous*. Our Lord's own resurrection, the resurrection of Lazarus, the restoration of the widow's son, &c. &c. &c.; these are facts which no power of imagination is sufficient to explain. And when we have, after diligent examination, come to the conclusion, that the evidence upon which *they* rest is sufficient, we must allow them to be miracles. And *then*, we may safely, and without any imputation of credulity, admit that those other facts, *which were performed by the same person*, were brought about by *the same power*, and are, therefore, in their nature, miraculous also."

The following is the triumphant answer by which this observation has been met by the doctor:—

"In reply, I would beg to observe with him, that there were many of the miracles of our Lord *like* to those which we now treat of, from which it is just to deduce that *these also* may be true miracles."

I scarcely think the reader will be of opinion, that this mode of replying to such an observation puts the doctor upon quite such high ground as his critic has claimed for him.

Again, the author of the "Observations" says,—

"Almost all Roman Catholic writers, and Dr. Doyle

amongst the rest, when they mean to be particularly severe upon the established church, tauntingly allude to the number of sects which have, they say, issued from it. But, in thus making schism an objection to Protestantism, their zeal appears more than either their prudence or their judgment; for they forget, that they are, at the same time, making a compliment to their friends, the infidels, of an argument that must, upon their own principles, be fatal to Christianity. With the infidel, *all denominations of Christians* are but *so many sects* of the same religion. And if the Roman Catholic considers the subdivisions into which Protestantism has split *an objection against it*, the infidel may, with equal reason, consider the divisions into which Christianity has split *an objection against it*. Oh! but, say the Papists, "*We are infallible!*" And what does the infidel care about that? They have maintained, that the divisions amongst the reformed furnish an argument against Protestantism; and they cannot, consistently, deny that a similar argument holds good against Christianity, from the differences of opinion that obtain amongst believers."

The following is the doctor's elaborate answer:—

"The reply to this observation is as old-fashioned as the dress of Queen Anne;—it is, that when treating with infidels, we have arguments sufficient to prove the divinity of our religion; but, when reasoning with men who profess to believe in Christ as the redeemer of mankind, we have recourse to the church as the very head and front of his institution; and, until the question of her rights is settled, it is through mere courtesy we dispute on any other."

If this be to bind his adversary to his chariot wheels, and draw him in triumph round the citadel which he had vainly attempted to defend, I must confess myself to have been hitherto unacquainted with the requisites of fair and forcible argumentation.

In "The Case of the Church of Ireland," by Declan, it was observed, that there was a very suspicious discrepancy between Doctor Doyle's argument against tithes, and a commandment of his church "to pay "tithes to our pastors." It was observed, that in the

edition of the Roman Catholic catechism, printed in 1817, the commandment was changed into, "to contribute to the support of our pastors," and in the edition of 1819, the original words re-appeared. Doctor Doyle's answer will be found in the following passage, taken from the preface to Declan's second Letter; and it is proper to add, that to the very important query with which it concludes, neither Doctor Doyle, nor any other member of his church, has attempted an answer. "The other fact I adduced "was, 'the commandment of the church to pay "tithes,' still extant in the Roman Catholic cate- "chism;—a commandment which is stated to bind "'under pain of mortal sin,' and consequently to "be of divine authority. J. K. L. accounts for the "circumstance thus: 'There is a great variety of "catechisms in Ireland, and every printer publishes "which of them he listeth, for the sake of gain. Most "of them are nearly literal translations from some "catechism used upon the continent, where tithes "were paid. In the copy approved by THE four "archbishops, the mention of tithes was omitted, to "avoid giving offence.' Perhaps he should have said, "to avoid giving *alarm*. *Some* catechism used on the "continent, where tithes were paid! J. K. L. does not "know, then, what catechism it might be. But how "came the command into ANY catechism? The church "of England has not secured its temporalities by any "special sanction; it commits them to those general "laws of God, which protect all other property. How "happened it otherwise in the church of Rome? But it "seems there is a great variety of catechisms in

" Ireland, in one small branch of that church, whose " first and proudest mark of truth, is *unity*. The " printers find it lucrative to print them all; of " course the laity purchase, and the priests teach them. " But there *is* one catechism approved by THE four " archbishops, in which tithes are omitted. Will " J. K. L. acknowledge in what year, or by what right, " the archbishops first omitted this important word? " Is there, among all those various catechisms, any of " the same authority in the church of Rome, as the " catechism bound up with our book of common " prayer, in the church of England and Ireland? " If there be, have his four archbishops the power " of altering it? If not, what becomes of his vaunted " unity? These are very plain questions, and can be " met most satisfactorily by a plain answer."

THE END.

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